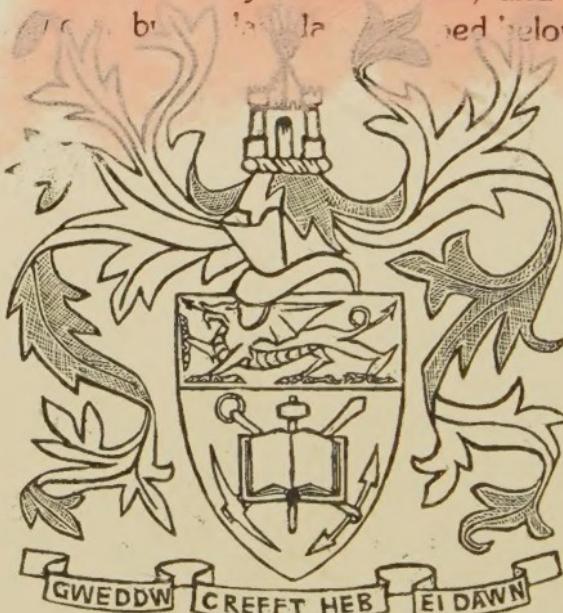


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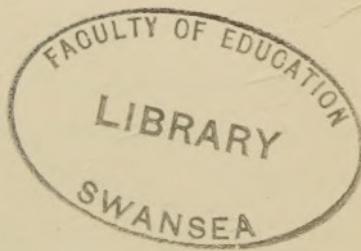
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# A SOURCE-BOOK OF WELSH HISTORY

BY  
MARY SALMON, M.A.



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## P R E F A C E

WHILE there has long been a large choice of Source-Books for English History, there has not hitherto been even Hobson's choice for Welsh History. As I could not do without such a book to supplement my lectures, and no one else seemed likely to supply it, I was forced to compile one myself. This is now published in the hope that it may be useful to others—especially to students in colleges, pupils in secondary schools, and teachers in elementary schools.

I gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Judge Ivor Bowen, and Mr. W. H. Jones in permitting me to quote freely from the Society's Records, the Statutes of Wales, and the *History of Swansea* respectively.

Of the friends who have helped me in various ways I must not omit to name Miss Winifred Hindshaw, my sister, and, above all, my father.

M. S.

1 March, 1927.



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# I

## THE ANCIENT BRITONS

### § 1. *Caesar's Description of the Britons*

*Gallic War, Book V, chapter 6.*

THE inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom rumour reports to be the natives of the soil. The sea-coast is peopled by the Belgae who were drawn there by the love of war and plunder. . . . The island is well peopled, full of houses built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle. They use brass money and iron rings of a certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those on the coasts iron, but this in no great quantity. . . .

The inhabitants of Kent, which is entirely on the sea-coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ very little from the Gauls. The majority of those who live inland never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons paint themselves with woad, which gives the skin a bluish colour and makes them look very dreadful in battle. They have long hair and shave all the rest of the body except the head and the upper lip.

### § 2. *Their Method of Fighting*

*Gallic War, Book IV, chapter 29.*

THEIR way of fighting with their chariots is this: first, they drive their chariots on all sides, and throw their darts: insomuch, that by the very terror of the horses and noise of the wheels, they often break the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry

they quit their chariots and fight on foot: meantime, the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in a manner to help the retreat of their countrymen if they should be overcome by the enemy. Thus in action they sometimes act as swift horsemen and sometimes as steady infantry; and by long exercise and practice they have acquired such skill that in the most steep and difficult places they can stop their horses on a full stretch, can turn them how they please, can run along the pole of the chariot, rest on the harness or throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity.

### § 3. *The Druids*<sup>1</sup>

*Gallic War, Book VI, chapter 13.*

THE Druids preside over matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They direct and educate the young, by whom they are held in great honour. In most controversies, public or private, the decision is left to them; if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises about an inheritance or the boundaries of adjoining estates; in all such cases they are the supreme judges. They mete out rewards and punishments; and if any one, whether magistrate or private man, refuses to submit to their sentence they forbid him to attend the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls, because those under this prohibition are thought impious and wicked, and all shun them and refuse to converse or associate with them, lest they should suffer contagion from their misfortunes. They cannot appeal to the law for justice nor can they hold any public office.

The Druids are all under one chief who possesses extreme

<sup>1</sup> This is a description of the Druids in Gaul, but there was probably little difference between them and those of Britain, where, according to Caesar himself, the institution originated.

authority in that body. On his death, if any one noticeably surpasses all the others, he succeeds; but if there are several candidates of equal merit, the matter is decided by vote. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms before the election can be decided. Once a year they assemble at a consecrated place in the land of the Carnutes (the district of Chartres), whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither flock all those who have suits, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institution is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul, and even at this day, those who desire to be perfect in it travel to Britain for instruction. The Druids never go to war, are exempt from taxes and military service, and enjoy many other privileges. These great immunities lead many to follow that profession from their own choice, and many are sent to it by their parents and families. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years at this work, for it is considered unlawful to commit their statutes to writing, though in other matters, public and private, they make use of Greek characters. It seems to me that they follow this method for two reasons: to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to be neglected had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. One of their principal beliefs is that the soul never dies, but after death passes from one body to another, which, they think, helps greatly to exalt men's courage, by robbing death of its terrors. They also teach many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods.

## II

## THE ROMANS IN WALES

§ I. *The Story of Caractacus*

Tacitus, *Annales*, Book XII, chapters 32-7 (abridged).

THE Silures<sup>1</sup> were not so easily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous measures could induce them to submit. To bridle the insolence of this warlike race, Ostorius judged it expedient to form a camp for his legions in the heart of their country. For this purpose a colony, supported by a strong body of veterans, was established at Camulodunum<sup>2</sup> on lands taken from the enemy. A two-fold effect was expected from this measure: the garrison would be able to overawe the rebels and give the friendly peoples an example of law and civil government. These arrangements made, Ostorius marched against the Silures. To their natural ferocity this people added the courage which they gained from the presence of Caractacus. Renowned for his valour, the fame of that heroic chief had spread throughout the island. His knowledge of the country and his skill in all the stratagems of savage warfare gave him many advantages, but he could not hope with his inferior numbers to make a stand against a well-disciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovices,<sup>3</sup> and having drawn to his standard all who considered peace with Rome as another name for slavery, he determined to try the issue of a battle. For this purpose he chose a spot defended by steep and rocky hills, and where the hills were less steep he fortified with great stones heaped together to form a rampart, while a river with fords and shallows of uncertain depths washed the extremity of the plain.

<sup>1</sup> Occupied South Wales and Herefordshire and Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Colchester.

<sup>3</sup> Occupied north-east Wales and the Border counties.

The fearless appearance of the Britons; and the spirit which animated their whole army, struck Ostorius with astonishment. He saw a river to be crossed, a palisade to be forced, a steep hill to be surmounted, and every post defended by a great multitude, but the Roman soldiers burned with impatience for the attack. The signal was given. The river was passed with little difficulty. The struggle at the palisade was obstinate, but at last the Britons were forced to give way and fled to the ridge of their hills. The Romans pursued eagerly. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary soldiers, forced their way to the summit of the hills after a heavy shower of darts. The Britons, having neither breastplates nor helmets, could not maintain the conflict. The legions bore down all before them. The victory was decisive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners. His brother surrendered at discretion. Caractacus fled for protection to Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes.<sup>1</sup>

But adversity has no friends, and by that princess he was loaded with irons and delivered up to the conquerors. Caractacus had waged war with the Romans for the last nine years. His fame was not confined to his native island : it passed into the provinces and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The Emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In a field before the camp the pretorian bands were drawn up at arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, his brother followed next : he himself closed the melancholy train. The other prisoners, filled with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a sign of fear appearing,

<sup>1</sup> Occupied Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland.

no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal he spoke in the following manner : ‘ If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I had added the virtue of moderation, Rome would have beheld me, not as a captive, but as a royal visitor and friend. The alliance of a prince descended from a line of illustrious ancestors, a prince whose rule extended over many nations, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now my lot. To you the event is glorious, to me humiliating. I had arms and men and horses ; I had abundant wealth ; can you wonder that I am unwilling to lose them ? Ambitious Rome aspires to universal dominion : must all mankind, therefore, bend their necks to the yoke ? I stood at bay for years : had I acted otherwise where would have been your glory of conquest ? Where would have been my honour of a brave resistance ? I am now in your power. If you are bent on vengeance, carry out your purpose ; the bloody scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. If you preserve my life, I shall be to late posterity a monument of Roman clemency.’ Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, his daughter, and his brother.

## § 2. *The Destruction of the Druids*

Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XIV, chapters 29–30.

**P**AULINUS SUETONIUS succeeded to the command. He was an officer of distinguished merit. His military talents made him ambitious, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, roused him to the highest eminence. By subduing the rebellious spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this in view he determined that he would subdue the island of Mona (Anglesey), a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the discontented

Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and treacherous shore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be built. In these he carried over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording the shallows and partly by letting their horses swim, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

On the opposite shore stood the Britons closely drawn up and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder, their dress funereal, their hair loose to the wind, flaming torches in their hands, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the Furies. The Druids were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The strangeness of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were paralysed, riveted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general soon diffused new life through the ranks, and by mutual reproaches the men incited each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women and a band of fanatic priests. They advanced their standards and attacked with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to keep it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstitious and barbarous rites, were cut down. In these fastnesses the Britons bathed their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men sought to find the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

### III

## THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN

VERY little is known as to how Wales became Christian. There are many legends, some of them very beautiful, but little real fact. All that can be said with certainty is that South Britain was converted in the first quarter of the fourth century, and that Wales was converted last. By the fifth century, all the people were converted and were beginning to quarrel among themselves as to the best form of Christian belief. One form, which the Church deemed heresy, was known as Pelagianism, after its first teacher, Pelagius, who is thought by some writers to have come from Britain, because his name is equivalent to the Welsh name Morgan.

### § I. *Germanus and Lupus in Britain, A. D. 429*

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I, chapter 16 (abridged).

SOME few years before their arrival the Pelagian heresy, brought over by Agricola, the son of Severianus, had corrupted the faith of the Britons. Although they refused to embrace that doctrine, they were unable to confute the subtle arguments of its upholders; they therefore sought aid from the prelates of the Church in Gaul. These, after consultation, all agreed that Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, should go into Britain to confirm the people's faith in the grace of God. With eager zeal they agreed to the request of the Holy Church and put to sea. With favourable winds the ship sailed safely till they were half way between Britain and Gaul. Then, demons, fearing lest men of such piety should bring the people back to salvation, raised storms and darkened the sky with clouds. . . . At length divine help came, the enemy was driven off, the winds changed again and the sea was soon crossed.

The bishops soon filled the whole island with the fame of

their preaching and their miracles ; daily did they preach the word of God, not only in the churches, but even in the streets and fields, so that the faithful were confirmed in their faith, and those who had gone astray accepted correction. The authors of this mistaken belief kept themselves hidden, but at length, after much consideration, they had the boldness to enter the lists, lest they should by saying nothing condemn themselves. A great multitude was attracted to the place<sup>1</sup> of debate.

The people were present as spectators and judges. The blessed bishops let their opponents speak first, and their empty speech long wasted the time and filled men's ears with senseless words. Then the venerable prelates poured forth the torrents of their eloquence, showering upon them the words of apostles and evangelists. Pride was vanquished, unbelief refuted, and the heretics forced to confess their errors. The people gave their verdict by their loud shouts, and could scarcely refrain from violence.

## § 2. *The Foundation of the Church of Llandaff*

*The Book of Llandaff*, p. 310.

AFTER the aforesaid illustrious persons<sup>2</sup> had extirpated the Pelagian heresy, they consecrated bishops in many parts of the island of Britain, and over all the Britons of the southern part they consecrated the eminent doctor, St. Dubricius, who was elected by the King and the whole district to be the archbishop. Having received this dignity from Germanus and Luper, they granted to him, with the consent of King Meurig, and of the princes, clergy, and people, the episcopal see, which was founded in the district of Llandaff in honour of St. Peter the Apostle, with these boundaries : from Henriw-gunna to Rhiwffynon, and from Cynlais to the sea, the whole

<sup>1</sup> The conference is said to have been at St. Albans.

<sup>2</sup> Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Luper, Bishop of Troyes.

district between the Taff and the Ely,<sup>1</sup> with their fish and weirs for fisheries, and its dignity free from all service, regal and secular, except only daily prayer and ecclesiastical service for his soul, and for the souls of his parents, kings and princes of Britain, and of all the faithful deceased ; and with its privileges, without any governor or deputy governor, without attendance at public courts, either within or without the district, without going on military expeditions, without keeping watch over the country, in or out of it, and with free commonage to the inhabitants of the whole diocese in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, with its court complete within itself, free and entire as a regal court, with its refuge not for any limited time, but to be perpetual, that is that the fugitives might remain safe under its protection as long as he should wish, and with the bodies of the kings of the whole diocese of Llandaff, given and committed to it for ever.

### § 3. St. David

#### *Stories of Teilo, David, and Padarn*

A

*The Book of Llandaff*, p. 324.

AND from that hour Dubricius increased in growth and knowledge : being sent to a seminary of learning he proceeded cheerfully and with great devotion ; and although a child in age, he was soon a man in maturity, with great wisdom and eloquence in imparting knowledge. And when he became a man in growth, age, and wisdom, and skilful in both the modern and ancient law, his fame extended throughout all Britain, so that from all parts came not only scholars who were uninstructed, but learned men and doctors flocked to him for the sake of study, particularly St. Teilo, Samson his disciple, and many

<sup>1</sup> These are rivers in Brecon and Glamorgan. The original Diocese of Dubricius appears to have been nearly the same as the present Diocese of Llandaff.

others. And with these he kept two thousand clergy for seven successive years at Henllan,<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the Wye, in the literary study of divine and human wisdom, setting forth to them in himself an example of religious life and perfect charity.

## B

*The Book of Llandaff*, p. 339.

The holy men, namely Teilo and David, being in all things obedient to their God, dared not resist the divine command, but associating with them Padarn,<sup>2</sup> one dear to God, the three, in the name of the Holy Trinity, began the appointed journey (to Jerusalem), but not as many travellers do, with the preparation of much money, but without staff or scrip, trusting rather to Him who ‘giveth fodder to the cattle and feedeth the young ravens that call upon Him’. Nor did they trust in vain, for God, through means of His faithful servants, gave in due season all things that were necessary for them. They were adorned with the light of heavenly grace, so that their arrival was welcome to all, and their presence procured health to the sick. . . .

Having at length completed so long a journey, they came to Jerusalem, and on their entering into the city, all the people met them, singing psalms and hymns on account of their arrival, and thus with great pomp they were conducted into the Church of the Lord. Although fatigued with their long journey, they did not ask for soft beds on which to rest, but lying on the bare pavement of the church, they continued in prayer for three days, and contemplated heavenly things so attentively that they were altogether unmindful of what was earthly. When the prayers of the holy men were concluded, all the clergy watched carefully which seats they would choose,

<sup>1</sup> Hentland, a parish in Herefordshire, about five miles from Ross.

<sup>2</sup> Padarn came from Brittany to Wales, founded a monastic house and college, and later a bishopric at Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire.

for by the choice of the seats they should know, as they had been told beforehand by an angel from heaven, which of them they should first constitute a bishop. For there were in the church from ancient times three seats appointed by the elders ; two were made of various metals with skilled workmanship : the third was cedar and had no outward ornament beside what nature gave it. This being humble, the humble Teilo chose it for his seat, leaving the more costly ones to his brethren, which being seen, all those present fell on their faces before St. Teilo, saying, ‘ Hail, Holy Teilo, may God grant that thy prayers to the Lord may be beneficial to us ; for to-day thou art exalted above thy fellows, for thou hast sat in the seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, from which he preached the Kingdom of God to our Fathers.’

On hearing this the holy man arose with great astonishment, and prostrating himself on the ground, said, ‘ Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful, and blessed be the Saviour, who chose that a seat for Him should be made of wood, who, through means of wood, should succour a perishing world.’ So being humble, he humbly adored the seat, yea Him, who had sat therein, because he, being a creature, considered it to be the seat of the Creator. Wherefore it happened that they requested him that he would speak to them a word concerning Christ, and as he had followed Him in sitting in the chair, he would follow Him in preaching. Observing them to be warmed with divine love, St. Teilo was perplexed in a surprising manner, not because he did not know what to teach, but because he was altogether ignorant of their language. Yet the holy man, that he might satisfy the suppliant people, began to explain the Scriptures, so that every one of them who stood round, heard him speak in his own language. And all who had heard him preaching were so pleased with the sweetness of his discourse, that the longer they heard, the more they were

desirous of hearing him. At length, lest it should seem that he was presumptuous in executing the office of preaching if he alone preached, he said to the people, ‘ Hear now the words of life from my brethren, who are of more perfect life than I am, and more advanced in learning.’ Therefore, St. David, and the very humble servant of God, Padarn, arose and preached to the people. . . .

After these things they were elected by all the people, raised to the episcopal dignity, as had been foretold by the angel, . . . and in testimony of the grace they there received, the Lord bestowing it, three valuable presents were given to them, such as suited each person. Padarn had a staff and a choral cap, made of very valuable silk, because they observed that he was a singer. To David was given a wonderful altar, . . . for he celebrated more cheerfully than the others. Last of all the holy prelate, Teilo, had his gift, a bell that was more famous than great, more valuable in reality than in appearance because it exceeded every organ in sweetness of sound ; it condemned the perjured, it healed the sick, and what appeared most wonderful, it sounded every hour without any one touching it, until being prevented by the sin of men, who rashly handling it with polluted hands, it ceased from such sweet performance. Nor was he presented with such a gift unsuitably, for as a bell invites men from the depths of sleep and slothfulness to the church, so the eminent prelate, Teilo, being made a preacher of Christ, by incessant preaching invited them to heaven. Being presented with these glorious gifts, and a blessing received on both sides, they returned with the greatest prosperity to their own country.

## C

Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 405.

From Henllan, David came to a master who was called Paulinus, and he taught David until he was a master. And it so happened that the master of David lost his eyesight

through great pain in his eyes, and he called to him all his disciples, that he might receive from them a remedy for his eyes, and no one was able to relieve him. Last of all he called David, and said to him, ‘David, look at my eyes, for they pain me.’ ‘Lord, master,’ said David, ‘do not order me to look at thy eyes, for during the ten years since I came to thee to be instructed, I have not yet looked in thy face.’ And the master, admiring his modesty, said to him, ‘Since it is so, put forth thy hand on my face, and bless my eyes, and I shall be quite well.’ And when David put his hands on his eyes they were thoroughly restored.

## D

Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 410.

The bishops, and the doctors, and the clergy, and the kings, and the princes, and the earls, and the barons, and the nobles, and the esquires, and the pleaders, and a multitude that could not be numbered, were assembled together at the Synod of Brevi; and an agreement was made that whosoever of the saints should preach at that synod, so that the great multitude in general should hear, should be sovereign over the saints of the isle of Britain. Then the saints began to preach, every one in his turn; and some one spoke for the company in general, ‘The hundredth part of this congregation cannot hear any part of your preaching, you labour altogether in vain.’ Then all the saints said to one another, ‘There is not one of us who can preach to so many; we have all of us tried in turn, and we have seen that not one of us can preach to this multitude. Let us consider and inquire whether there is any one who is so worthy that he is able to preach to the large number here assembled.’ Then St. Paulinus, who was an old and holy bishop, answered, ‘I know a comely and virtuous young man, who is always accompanied by an angel, and I know that he is eloquent and pure, and that he loves God much, and that God loves him, and he is a performer of good

works ; and I myself know that he has more of the grace of God than any one in this island, and he is called St. David. . . . Go and call that person—for I know that God has given grace to him.'

And then the saints sent messengers to St. David. And when he heard the errand of the messengers, he answered, 'I shall not go there, for I prefer to pray to God here, so go in peace and the love of God.' And a second time the saints invited David, and he returned the same answer as before. And the third time, all the saints by agreement sent to David, as messengers, the two chief saints who were there, namely, Deiniol<sup>1</sup> and Dubricius.<sup>2</sup> And the night before they went to David, he said to his disciples, ' My sons, know that tomorrow two messengers will come here, so go to the sea to catch fish, and bring here clear water from the fountain.' And the messengers came on the day he had told them ; and he placed before them the dinner his disciples had prepared, and said to them, ' Eat, my brethren, and be cheerful.' And the two saints answered, ' We will take neither meat nor drink unless thou wilt come with us to the great synod where there is a multitude which cannot be numbered waiting for thee ; therefore, hasten to go with us for God's sake, and for the blessing of the saints, unless thou dost desire to deserve their curse.' ' Then ', said David, ' I will go for the love of God to those there assembled.'

. . . Then David went from thence with the messengers of the saints, to the place where they were waiting for him ; and when he came there, all the saints rose to greet him, and fell on their knees and begged him to preach, and they would take him to the top of a high hill where they had preached before. And he excused himself for some time to them, saying that he dared not, and that he could not do what they

<sup>1</sup> Deiniol or Daniel, died c. 584, Bishop of Bangor, founded many churches in Wales and an abbey at Bangor.

<sup>2</sup> Dubricius or Dyfrig, reputed founder of the Bishopric of Llandaff.

wished. But he received a blessing from them all in general, and complied with them, yet he refused to go to the top of the hill, and said he would stand nowhere but on the flat ground. And David began to preach . . . clearly as the sound of a trumpet, and plainly to every man, so as to be heard by the most distant as well as the nearest, as the sun is seen by everybody when it is mid-day, and it caused wonder to all. And as David was preaching on the flat ground before mentioned, the ground rose as a high mount under his feet, and all the people of that assembly beheld it ; this is still a high hill visible to everybody, and it is flat everywhere about it ; and that miracle and marvellous act was done by God to David at Llanddewibrefi.<sup>1</sup> And then they agreed to praise David and to acknowledge unanimously that he was a prince over all the saints of Britain, saying as follows : ‘ As God has set a governor in the sea over all kinds of fishes, and has given a governor on earth to the birds, so He has given David to be a governor over men in this world : and as God gave Matthew in Judea, and Luke in Alexandria, and Christ in Jerusalem, and Peter in Rome, and Martin in France, and Samson in Brittany, so He has given St. David to be in the island of Britain.’ And therefore St. David was made a sovereign and prince of the saints of the island of Britain, on account of his preaching at the great synod of all the people, in which no one was able to preach besides himself.

The Britons, for many years after being subdued by the heathen Anglo-Saxons, made no attempt to convert their conquerors, but isolated themselves even from Rome. So the Celtic Church developed along different lines from the other Churches of Europe, and long after the Angles and Saxons had been converted by Roman missionaries, she refused to fall in with Roman ways.

<sup>1</sup> Llanddewibrefi, in the county of Cardigan, eight miles north-east of Lampeter, on the River Teivy.

*§ 4. The Celtic Church refuses to submit to the rule of Augustine, A. D. 603?*

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chapter 2 (abridged).

**M**EANWHILE, Augustine, with the help of King Ethelbert, called a conference of the bishops and teachers of the nearest provinces of the Britons at a place which to this day is called Augustine's Oak<sup>1</sup> in the English tongue.

He began to beg them in a brotherly way to keep the peace with him and to join in preaching the gospel to the heathen. For they did not keep Easter at the proper time, and did many other things contrary to the unity of the Church. When, after a lengthy discussion, the Britons would not submit to the prayers or the exhortations of Augustine and his companions, but preferred their own traditions to all the churches which are united in Christ throughout all the world, the holy father, Augustine, put an end to this wearisome contention, saying, 'Let us beseech God that He will vouchsafe to show us by signs from heaven, which tradition is to be followed. Let some sick man be brought, and let the faith and customs of him through whose prayers he shall be healed be considered pleasing to God and be followed by all.' His adversaries, having somewhat unwillingly consented, a certain blind man of the English race was brought, who, being presented to the British priests, received no healing from their ministry; at last Augustine knelt to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying that he would restore to the blind man the sight that he had lost, and by the same action kindle a spiritual light in the hearts of many of the faithful. The blind man at once received his sight, and Augustine was recognized by all as the true herald of the heavenly light, but the Britons said they could not give up their ancient customs without the consent of their people, so they asked for a second synod to which more of them would be able to come.

<sup>1</sup> Place uncertain. Probably Aust on the Severn, opposite Chepstow.

This was agreed to, and it is said that there came seven British bishops<sup>1</sup> and many most learned men, especially from their finest monastery called Bancornaburg<sup>2</sup> in the English tongue.

Those going to the aforesaid council came first to a certain holy and wise hermit, to consult with him as to whether they ought at the preaching of Augustine to forsake their traditions. He answered, ‘If he is a man of God, follow him.’ ‘How can we prove that?’ said they. He replied, ‘Our Lord says, “Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart”; if then, Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, do what he says, but if he is harsh and proud, it is clear that he is not of God, nor need we pay attention to his word. Contrive so that he and his party arrive first at the place where the synod is to be held, and if, when you approach, he rises to greet you, hear him meekly, for he is a servant of God, but if he despises you and does not rise on your arrival, since you are the greater number, let him be despised by you.’

They did as he had said. It happened that as they arrived Augustine was sitting on a seat. When they saw it they were roused to anger, and accusing him of pride, they began to contradict all that he said, and they refused to do any of the things which he asked or to receive him as their archbishop.

It was more than one hundred and fifty years later that the Welsh, persuaded by Elbodugus (Welsh Elifodd), submitted to Canterbury on the points in dispute.

*Annales Cambriae.*

768. Easter was altered among the Britons, the reform being the work of that man of God, Elbodugus.

<sup>1</sup> Seven British bishops. There were never seven bishops in Wales, but those delegates probably came from Cornwall and Strathclyde, too.

<sup>2</sup> Bangor Iscoed in Flintshire, not the Bangor in Carnarvonshire.

## IV

### THE ENGLISH AND DANISH INVASIONS

#### § I. *Maelgwn Gwynedd*

In the sixth century, while Angles and Saxons were busily conquering England, Maelgwn Gwynedd ruled in Wales. Though a Christian prince, he quarrelled with the saints. He came to repent of his many wrong deeds and so withdrew into a monastery. But either he found the life too hard, or he could not quietly see his country going to ruin, for he soon came out into the world again. For this looking back after he had put his hand to the plough he was greatly blamed by Gildas, a British historian who lived in the sixth century and wrote a very gloomy account of his country.

##### i. *Gildas reproaches Maelgwn Gwynedd for his wicked life.*

Gildas, sections 33–4 (abridged).

O THOU dragon of the island, who hast deprived many tyrants of their kingdoms and lives, and though last to be mentioned in my writing, art the first in mischief, exceeding many in power but also in evil, more liberal than others in giving, but more licentious in sinning, strong in arms but stronger in working thy soul's destruction, Maglocune (Maelgwn), why dost thou roll so foolishly in that black pool of thy offences? Why dost thou show thyself unto the King of Kings, who hath made thee greater in kingdom as in body than most of the other British chiefs, not better than the rest, but rather much worse? . . . But when thy violent rule had succeeded according to thy wishes, and thou hadst expressed a desire to return into the right way, and didst announce to the world thy vow to be a monk, didst thou not free thyself from the toils in which great beasts like thee entangle themselves, and like a dove escaping from the furious hawk, safely return to the cells where the saints repose? Oh! how great a joy it would have been to Mother Church had not the enemy of all mankind pulled thee, as it were, out of her bosom!

What great rewards would have been laid up for thy soul in the kingdom of Christ against the day of judgement, if that crafty wolf had not caught thee when thou hadst become a lamb in the fold of the Lord, and made thee a wolf again like himself! In short, thy conversion to righteousness gave as great joy to heaven and earth, as now thy detestable relapse breedeth sorrow and lamentation.

ii. *The Death of Maelgwn, A. D. 547*

*Annales Cambriae.*

There was a great plague in Britain, of which, Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd, died.

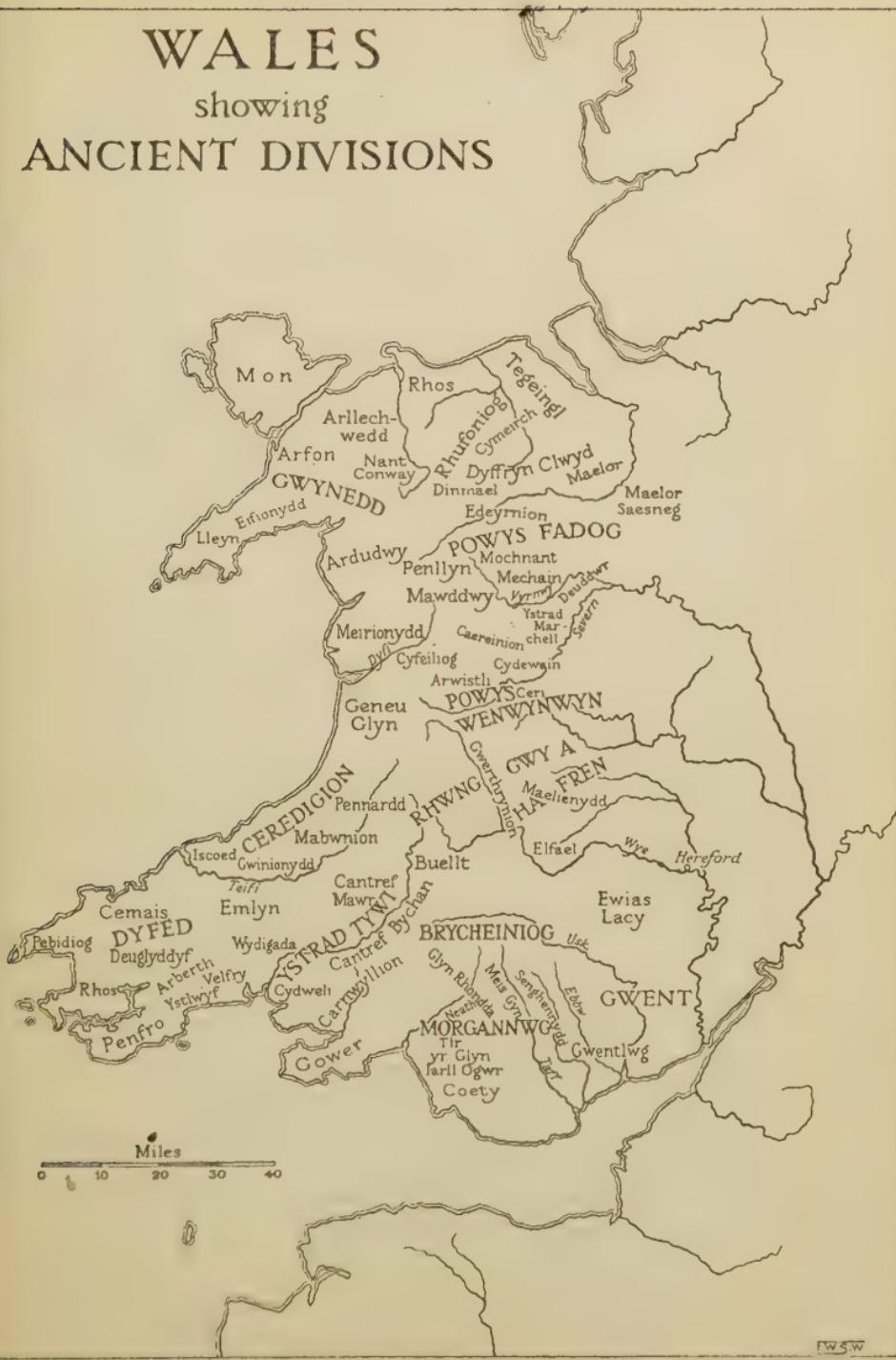
§ 2. *The coming of Hengist and Horsa*

Nennius, Sections 31-8 (abridged).

IN the meantime, three vessels exiled from Germany, arrived in Britain. They were commanded by Hengist and Horsa, brothers, and sons of Wihtgils. Vortigern received them as friends, and delivered up to them the island which is in their language called Thanet, and by the Britons, Ruym. After the Saxons had continued some time in the island of Thanet, Vortigern promised to supply them with clothing and provisions, on condition they would engage to fight against the enemies of his country. But the barbarians having greatly increased in number, the Britons could not fulfil their engagement; and when the Saxons, according to the promise, claimed a supply of provisions and clothing, the Britons answered: 'Your numbers have grown, we no longer need your help, therefore you may return home, as we can no longer support you.'

But Hengist, an intelligent and crafty man, seeing that he had to deal with an ignorant king and a vacillating people incapable of showing much resistance, sent to his home for more troops and his own beautiful daughter. And now the Saxon chief prepared an entertainment, to which he invited

WALES  
showing  
ANCIENT DIVISIONS



the King, his officers, and Ceretic, his interpreter, having previously enjoined his daughter to serve them plentifully with wine and ale, that they might soon become intoxicated. This plan succeeded ; and Vortigern, at the instigation of the Devil, and enamoured with the beauty of the damsel, demanded her of the father, promising to give for her whatever he should ask. Then Hengist demanded for his daughter the province, called in English Centland, in British Ceint (Kent). Thus the maid was delivered up to the King, who loved her exceedingly.

Hengist after this said to Vortigern, 'I will be to you both a father and adviser : despise not my counsels, and you shall have no reason to fear being conquered by any nation whatever ; for the people of my country are strong and warlike : if you approve I will send for my son and his brother, both valiant men, who will fight for you against the Scots, and you can give them the country in the North, near the wall.' The incautious sovereign consented to this, and they soon arrived with forty ships.

So Hengist continued, by degrees, sending for ships from his own country, so that some islands from which they came were left without inhabitants.

### § 3. *Treachery of Hengist*

Nennius, edition Bohn, p. 405.

[This legendary incident is popularly known as *Brai y cyllyl kirion*, the long-knife treachery.]

**W**ITH insidious intent Hengist sent offers of peace and friendship to the British King Vortigern, who, suspecting no treachery, accepted them. Then, under pretence of ratifying the treaty, Hengist invited the King with his nobles and captains, about three hundred in all, to a feast which he had prepared. To three hundred of his own followers he gave command that they should bear concealed long knives. When the King and his company appeared they were seated at table

intermingled with the Saxons. After they had eaten and well drunk, Hengist suddenly shouted, ‘ Nimed eure saxes’ ; whereupon each Saxon drew his knife and slew the Briton who sat beside him.

#### § 4. *The Death of King Arthur*

Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *British History*,  
Book XI, chapters 1–2 (abbreviated).

BUT at the beginning of the following summer, as Arthur was on his march towards Rome, he had news brought to him that his nephew Modred, to whose care he had entrusted Britain, had by tyrannical and treasonable practices set the crown upon his own head. As soon therefore as the report of his flagrant wickedness reached him, he immediately gave up his enterprise against Leo, King of the Romans, and returned with all speed to Britain. But the wicked traitor, Modred, had sent Cheldric, the Saxon leader, into Germany, there to raise what forces he could and return with all speed ; and in return for this service had promised him all that part of the island between the Humber and Scotland, and whatever Hengist and Horsa had possessed of Kent in Vortigern’s time. Cheldric had arrived with eight hundred ships filled with pagan soldiers. Modred had also persuaded to help him the Scots, Picts, Irish, and all others whom he knew to be enemies of his uncle. His whole army, taking pagans and Christians together, amounted to eighty thousand men : with their help he met Arthur just after his landing at the port of Rutupi, and joining battle with him, made a very great slaughter of his men. After Arthur and his followers had, at last, with much difficulty got ashore, they paid back the slaughter, and put Modred and his army to flight. For, by long practice in war, they had learned an excellent way of arranging their forces ; for while their foot were employed either in an assault or on the defensive, the horse would come at full speed obliquely, break through the enemy’s ranks and so force them to flee.

Nevertheless, this perjured usurper got his forces together again, and the following night entered Winchester.

But Arthur was very angry at the loss of so many of his men, and on the third day, after he had buried his slain, he went to the city, and there besieged the traitor, who was full of confidence, and marched out with his troops to meet his uncle. In the battle that followed, great numbers fell on both sides; but at last Modred's army suffered most, so that he was forced to quit the field, and without waiting to bury his dead he fled precipitately to Cornwall, whither Arthur pursued him. Modred still had sixty thousand men. These he drew up in three bodies, and then endeavoured to encourage his men, promising them the estates of their enemies if they gained the victory. Arthur also marshalled his army skilfully and exhorted them to make a final rout of these robbers and perjured villains, telling them that a mixed army composed of barbarous people of so many countries, people who were all raw soldiers inexperienced in war, would never be able to stand against such brave veteran troops as they were if only they all did their duty. After this encouragement given by each general to their soldiers, the battle began with great fury. In this manner they spent the great part of the day, till Arthur at last made an advance with his own company against that in which he knew Modred was; and having opened the way with their swords, they pierced right through it, and made a grievous slaughter. In this assault fell the wicked traitor himself, and many thousands with him. Notwithstanding the loss of their leader, his men did not flee, but gathering together from all parts of the field, held their ground with undaunted courage. The fight grew more furious than ever, and proved fatal to nearly all the commanders and their forces. For on Modred's side fell Cheldric, Clasius, Egbrict, and Bunignus of the Saxons, Gillapatric, Gillamor, Gistafel, and Gillarius of the Irish, also the Scots and Picts with almost all their leaders; on Arthur's side Olbrict, King of Norway, Aschillius, King of

Dacia, Cador Limenic Cassibellaun, with many thousand others, Britons and foreigners. And even the renowned King Arthur himself was mortally wounded, and, being carried to the isle of Avallon to be cured of his wounds, he gave up the crown of Britain to his kinsman Constantine, son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, in the five hundred and forty-second year of our Lord's incarnation.

### § 5. *The Battle of Deorham, A. D. 577*

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

THIS year Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and they slew three kings . . . at the place called Dcorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath.

### § 6. *The Battle of Chester, c. 615*

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

AND this year<sup>1</sup> Aethelfrith led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welshmen : and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, wherein he saith, ‘If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hand of the Saxons.’ There also were slain two hundred priests, who came to pray for the army of the Welsh ; their leader, who was called Brocmail, escaped thence with about fifty others.

### § 7. *Mercian Aggression*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

S EVEN hundred and sixty was the year of Christ when a battle between the Britons and Saxons took place, to wit, the action of Hereford.

778. And then . . . the destruction of the South Wales men by King Offa took place.

c. 784. In the summer the Welsh devastated the territory of Offa, and then Offa caused a dyke to be made as a boundary

<sup>1</sup> The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* dates this battle in 605 or 607.

between him and Wales, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attack of his enemies, and that is called Offa's Dyke from that time to this day. It extends from the one sea to the other, from the south near Bristol to the north above Flint, between the monastery of Basingwerk and Coleshill.<sup>1</sup>

### § 8. *Danish Attacks*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

EIGHT hundred and fifty was the year of Christ, and Cyngen<sup>2</sup> was strangled by the Pagans.<sup>3</sup>

853. And three years after that, Mona (Anglesey) was ravaged by the black Pagans.<sup>4</sup>

## V

### EARLY WELSH INSTITUTIONS

*Laws of Howel Dda, Dimetian<sup>5</sup> Code.*

Howel the Good, son of Cadell, by the grace of God, King of all Cymru,<sup>6</sup> observed the Cymry<sup>7</sup> perverting the laws and customs; and therefore he summoned to him, from every commote of his kingdom, six men, who were practised in authority and jurisprudence; and all the clergy of the kingdom possessed of the dignity of the crozier, as the Archbishop

<sup>1</sup> The dyke can still be traced in many places, and its line can be guessed with considerable certainty in others. It probably began at Prestatyn, ran through Ruabon, Chirk, Llanymynech, Llandysilio, then along the Severn to Forden, Lymore, Knighton, Knill, and then to the Wye. It can be traced no further, but may have ended at the mouth of the Taff.

<sup>2</sup> It is not known who Cyngen was.

<sup>3</sup> The Danes.

<sup>4</sup> Welsh and Irish chroniclers speak of black and white Pagans. The black are thought to have been the Danes, the white the Norwegians.

<sup>5</sup> South Wales.

<sup>6</sup> Wales.

<sup>7</sup> The Welsh people.

of Menevia,<sup>1</sup> and bishops and abbots and priors, to the place called the White House on the Taf, in Dyfed. That house he ordered to be constructed of white rods, as a lodge for him in hunting, when he came to Dyfed, and on that account it was called the White House.

And the King, with that assembly, remained there during the whole of Lent to pray to God, through perfect abstinence, and to pray for grace and wisdom for the King to amend the laws and customs of Cymru. And, at the end of Lent, the King chose out of that assembly twelve of the wisest laymen and the most learned scholar, who was called the master Blegywryd, to form and codify the laws and customs for him and his kingdom, perfectly and the nearest possible to truth and justice.

And he began to write them in three parts: the first, the daily law of the palace; the second, the law of the country; the third, the perfect administration of each of them. Afterwards, the King ordered three books of the law to be prepared: one for the daily use of the court, to remain always by him; another for the court of Dynefwr; the third for the court of Aberffraw; so that the three divisions of Cymru, namely Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth might have amongst them continually the authority of the law, ready for their use at all times.

And by the advice of the wise men the King retained some of the old laws; others he amended; others he abolished altogether, and established new in their place. And then he fully proclaimed the law among the people; and he supported it with his authority; and they pronounced the curse of God, of that assembly, and of the whole people of Cymru, upon any who should not henceforth observe it, in the manner then set forth, unless it were altered by the agreement of the people and the lord. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Menevia means St. Davids. There is no proof that it was ever an archbishopric, though, as we shall see later, some great Welshmen tried hard to prove that it had been.

After the law had all been made and written down, Howel the Good, accompanied by the princes of Cymru, and the bishops . . . and Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, went to Rome, to Pope Anastatius, for him to read the law and to see if there were anything contrary to the law of God in it ; and as there was nothing hostile to it,<sup>1</sup> it was confirmed and was called the law of Howel the Good from that time on. The year of the Lord Jesus Christ at that time was the year nine hundred and fourteen.

Most of our knowledge of early Welsh institutions is based on the laws which were collected and codified by Howel the Good.

They are divided into three sections :

- i. The Laws of the Court, dealing with the King's prerogatives.
- ii. The Laws of the Country, dealing with the affairs of civil juris-prudence.
- iii. The Proof Book, dealing with the Criminal Laws.

From the laws we gather that the whole organization was based on four institutions : the Cenedl, the Tref, the Cantref, and the Brenin.

i. The *Cenedl* or Kindred was equivalent to the Roman *gens* or Irish *fine*, and consisted of the whole body of kinsmen organized for defence and offence, payment and receipt of compensation, &c.

ii. *The Tref* was a small self-supporting community and might be of two different kinds :

(a) *The free tref*—a number of scattered houses owned by freemen, who, although they did not live in a village, were grouped together to pay the necessary food taxes to the King twice a year ;

(b) *The taeogdref* or hamlet where lived the King's taeogs or bilains, whose position was much like that of the English villein.

iii. *The Cantref* or tribe, or the land of the tribe with its Court presided over by the King or his officers. Later, as the population increased, the Court of the Cantref had too much work to do, so each Cantref was divided into a number of Commotes, each with its own court, officers, &c.

<sup>1</sup> It is very doubtful whether the law was ever approved by the Pope. It certainly contained a good deal which was contrary to the law of God as interpreted by the Roman Church. That is why Edward I said the Welsh laws were 'contrary to the Ten Commandments', and Archbishop Peckham told Llywelyn ap Gruffydd that 'the laws of Howel the Good came from the devil'.

iv. *The Brenin* or King, or Prince, the head of the tribe, who administered the law, received fines from the courts, led the people in war, and taxed them. The prerogatives of the King were the same whether he ruled all Wales, Gwynedd, or only one cantref.

The laws first set out in detail what the King's prerogatives were and the etiquette of his Court; then come matters of civil law, for instance, laws about women with their rights and status, laws about debt, the Church, the kindred, and many other things; finally we come to criminal law, which was divided into 'three columns', namely the law of homicide (*galanas*), of theft (*lladrad*), of fire (*tan*).

i. *Galanas* meant

- (a) The enmity arising out of a violent death, whether by murder or accident;
- (b) The compensation, or blood money, due from the kindred of the murderer to that of the murdered man. The amount varied according to the rank (*braint*) of the murdered person.

Enmity might arise and compensation be paid for some insult or injury less than death. This was known as *Saraad*, and was generally one-third of the *galanas*.

ii. *Theft* might be intentional or unintentional. The stolen property was to be restored and compensation paid. Every animal and article which a man might possess was valued, not only according to its intrinsic worth, but also according to the rank of the owner.

iii. *Fire* was difficult to kindle, therefore it was a valuable possession which might not be taken without leave; it was also a dangerous commodity, because all buildings were of wood, wattle, and thatch, and easily burnt; therefore a man who caused a conflagration was liable for all or part of the damage done.

### *Extracts from the Laws of Howell*

From Aneurin Owen's edition.

AND first they began with the laws of a court, as they were the most important, and as they pertained to the King and the Queen and the twenty-four officers who accompany them, namely, Chief of the Household, Priest of the Household, Steward, Judge of the Court, Falconer, Chief Huntsman, Chief Groom, Page of the Chamber, Steward of the Queen, Priest of the Queen, Bard of the Household, Silentiary, Doorkeeper of the Hall, Doorkeeper of the Chamber, Chamberlain, Groom of the Rein, Candlebearer, Butler, Mead

Brewer, Server of the Court, Cook, Physician, Footholder, Groom of the Rein to the Queen.

### i. LAWS OF THE COURT

Three times in the year the above twenty-four officers are entitled to receive, according to the law, their woollen garments from the king, and their linen garments from the queen ; namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

#### *Of the King.*

i. The worth<sup>1</sup> of the king is his saraad<sup>2</sup> threefold.

ii. In three ways saraad<sup>3</sup> is done to the king : one is by the violation of his protection, when he shall give protection to any one and he is killed ; another is when two kings meet together upon their common boundary for a conference, and in the presence of the two kings and of the two hosts a man belonging to the one kills a man belonging to the other ; the third is the seduction of his wife, the saraad for which shall be augmented by half.

iii. The saraad of the king of Aberffraw<sup>4</sup> is to be paid thus : an hundred cows for each cantref in his dominion, and a white bull with red ears to every hundred cows ; and a rod of gold equal in length to himself, and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as the nail of a ploughman who has been a ploughman for seven years. Gold is paid only to the king of Aberffraw.

#### *Of the King's Retinue.*

i. The king is to have thirty-six horsemen in attendance ; that is the twenty-four officers and the twelve gwestai,<sup>5</sup> besides

<sup>1</sup> Galanas.      <sup>2</sup> Here fine payable for an injury less than death.

<sup>3</sup> Here the insult or injury given.

<sup>4</sup> On west coast of Anglesey.

<sup>5</sup> Guests. Rhys and Jones think that these twelve guests were those who brought the king the gwestva, or entertainment dues from his freemen.

his household,<sup>1</sup> and the nobles, his servants, his minstrels, and his almsmen ; and these are called the king's train.

### *Of the Edling.*

- i. The heir apparent, that is the Edling, is he who is to reign after the king ; and he is to be the most honourable in the palace after the king and queen.
- ii. He ought to be son or a nephew to the king.
- iii. His seat in the palace is between the guest and the chief falconer ; the sixth man at mess<sup>2</sup> with the king.
- iv. His lodging is in the hall ; and the youths<sup>3</sup> along with him, and the woodman to light the fire and to shut the doors.
- v. His allowance of meat and drink is without measure ; and all his expenditure is to be defrayed from the king's coffers, as for his bridle and his horses, his dogs, his rings, and his ornaments ; his arms likewise are supplied by the king, and he is not to part with any of these without the permission of the king.
- viii. The worth of the edling is a third of the worth of a king.
- xi. The provender of his horse is without measure. His dogs are of the same worth as the dogs of the king.
- xiii. No person has a claim upon him at the three principal festivals for his clothes ; they are to be disposed of in such a manner as the king pleases. No servant has a claim upon him for service, for he is to be served gratuitously.

### *Of Appropriate Places.*

There are fourteen people who sit on chairs in the palace—four of them in the lower portion, and ten in the upper portion.

<sup>1</sup> *Teulu*, king's body-guard, similar to the Anglo-Saxon *gesiths*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Middle Ages it was the custom to place the guests at table in pairs, or in threes in Wales. Each group ate out of one plate. Each group was a mess. See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wales*, Book I, chap. 10.

<sup>3</sup> 'The sons of tenants holding under a lord, who, at the age of fourteen, were at his disposal' (Aneurin Owen).

The first is the king: he is to sit next to the screen;<sup>1</sup> next to him the canghellor;<sup>2</sup> then the guest; then the edling; then the chief falconer; the footholder on the side opposite the king's dish; and the doctor at the base of the pillar opposite to him on the other side of the fire. Next to the other screen, the priest of the household to bless the food and chant the Pater; the silentiary is to strike the pillar above his head; next to him the judge of the court; next to him the chaired bard; the smith of the court on the end of the bench before the priest. The chief of the household is to sit at the lower end of the hall with his left hand to the front door, and those he may choose of the household with him, and the rest on the other side of the door. The bard of the household is to sit on one hand of the chief of the household; the chief groom next to the king, separated by the screen; and the chief huntsman next to the priest of the household, separated by the screen.

*Of the Chief of the Household.*

- i. The chief of the household is to be a son of the king, or his nephew, or one of rank competent to become a chief of the household.
- ii. His worth is one-third of that of the king.
- iii. He is to place the harp in the hands of the bard of the household on the three principal festivals.
- vii. His lodging is the largest and most central house in the town, and with him such as he may please of the household; the rest round his lodging so as to be at hand to minister to his service.

<sup>1</sup> The Lords' hall had two rows of columns, three in each row, to support the roof. The fire was in the middle of the hall between the two central pillars, and screens which extended from these pillars to the side walls divided the hall into an upper and a lower portion. The King and nine of his officers sat in the upper part, while four officers and the rest of the household occupied the lower part.

<sup>2</sup> A royal officer with special jurisdiction over the King's tacogs.

viii. He is to have the second most honourable mess in the palace, and that next after the king.

x. If any act be done below the entrance<sup>1</sup> for which a dirwy<sup>2</sup> is to be paid, he claims a third of it. And if any person commit an offence above the entrance, and shall be seized in his flight by himself, or by any of the household, the chief of the household is to have a third of the dirwy.

xi. He is to have a garment from the king at the three principal festivals, and his horses at all times, and his dogs, his hawks, and his arms ; and his dogs and his hawks are of the same worth as those of the king ; and two shares of the provender for his horse ; and his linen clothing from the queen and his woollen clothing from the king ; and four horse-shoes with their complement of nails once a year from the smith of the palace.

xii. He is to have a gift of three pounds yearly from the king, and twenty pence out of every pound received by the king for suits respecting landed property ; and twenty-four pence from each man of the household the first year he shall ride on horseback.

xiii. Should any one withdraw from the king in anger, the chief of the household is to invite him to his table and reconcile him to the king.

xiv. When it may be necessary for the household to go to foray, or upon any other service, he is to select such as he may please to accompany him, and he is not to be disobeyed.

xv. He is to occupy the hall in the absence of the king, and the servants are to attend upon him like as upon the king.

xviii. He is entitled to two men's portion of the spoils acquired out of the country. . . .

<sup>1</sup> A door in the middle of the side wall is here referred to. Below the entrance would mean the part of the hall below the screen; above the entrance, the upper part of the hall where the King sat.

<sup>2</sup> A fine, generally of twelve cattle, but sometimes doubled, paid directly to the King for some serious offence.

xx. He is to have a song from the bard of the household whenever he may desire it.

xxi. He is to have medicaments from the doctor, who is to receive nothing from him except his blood-stained clothes, unless it be for one of the three dangerous wounds : these are a stroke on the head penetrating to the brain ; a stroke in the body penetrating to the bowels ; or the breaking of one of the four limbs.

xxii. He is to have a progress<sup>1</sup> assigned by the king, after separating from him at Christmas.

*Chief Points of Interest about the other Officers.*

*The Priest.* He is to have the dress worn by the king during Lent.

*The Chief Falconer.* His place in the palace is that of the fourth man from the king at mess with him ; but his lodging is the king's barn, lest the smoke should affect his birds.

*The Judge of the Court.* The porter is to open the great gate for him when coming to the palace, both in going in and out ; and he is never to let him through the wicket, either in going or coming.

*The Bard of the Household.* When a song is desired the chaired bard is to begin : the first song of God, and the second of the king who shall own the palace ; or if there be none, let him sing of another king.

*Of the Mediciner of the Household.*

He is to have his land free ; his horse in attendance ; and his linen clothing from the queen, and his woollen clothing from the king. . . .

He is to administer medicine gratuitously to all within the

<sup>1</sup> Welsh kings occasionally made progresses through their dominions, and at certain times of the year sent their officers and even their animals round the country. During these journeys they had to be maintained by the trefs.

palace, and to the chief of the household, and he is to have nothing from them except their bloody clothes, unless it be for one of the three dangerous wounds: these are a stroke on the head unto the brain, a stroke in the body unto the bowels, and the breaking of one of the four limbs. For every one of these three dangerous wounds the mediciner is to have nine score pence and his food, or one pound without his food and also the bloody clothes.

The mediciner is to have . . . for an application of red ointment twelve pence. . . .

For an application of herbs to a swelling, four legal pence.

For letting blood, four pence.

The mediciner is to take an indemnification from the kindred of the wounded person in case he die from the remedy he may use, and if he do not take it let him answer for the deed.

#### *Of the Footholder.*

He is to hold the king's feet in his lap, from the time he shall begin to sit at the banquet until he goes to sleep; and he is to rub the king, and during that space of time he is to guard the king against every mischance. . . .

He is to eat from the same dish with the king, with his back towards the fire.

#### *Of the Apparitor.*

He is to stand between the two pillars with a rod in his hand, and watch, lest the house should be burned whilst the king is at meat.

He is to drink with the servants, and he is not to sit while the king shall be eating and drinking in the hall; and he is not to strike the pillar on the side where the king shall be.

#### *Here we treat of other things.*

The three indispensables of a king are his priest to say grace and sing mass, the judge of the court to elucidate every-thing doubtful, and his household for his commands. . . .

Three things which a taeog is not to sell without the permission of his lord—a stallion, honey, and swine ; and if he should sell them, let him be subject to dirwy,<sup>1</sup> and the bargain be void. . . .

Three arts which the son of a taeog is not to learn without the permission of his lord, and if he should learn them he must not exercise them except he be a scholar who has taken holy orders : these are scholarship, smithcraft, and bardism. . . .

The king is not to go with his host out of the country except once a year ; but they are to attend the king in his own dominions whenever he shall please. The king is to have at his own cost from every villein-tref,<sup>2</sup> a man, a horse, and an axe to form encampments. . . .

## ii. THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY

*Here begin the Laws of the Women.*

1. The first of them is : if a woman be given in marriage, she is to abide by her agwedi<sup>3</sup> unto the end of the seventh year ; and if there be three nights wanting of the seventh current year, and they separate, let them share into two portions everything belonging to them.

2. The wife is to share, the husband is to choose, of the things which the law shall not share between them. The swine to the husband and the sheep to the wife ; if there be only one kind, then they are to be shared. . . .

3. Of the children, two shares to the father and one to the mother ; the oldest and the youngest to the father and the middlemost to the mother.

4. The household furniture is to be thus shared : all the milking vessels, except one pail, go to the wife ; all the dishes, except one dish, go to the wife ; and those two go to the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Or *taeogdref*. See p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Dowry which a bride brought to her husband. It varied according to the rank of the bride's father. It remained the wife's property to be repaid to her, or forfeited in certain events. See Wade-Evans's *Welsh Medieval Law*.

husband. The wife is to have the car and the yoke to convey her furniture from the house. The husband is to have all the drinking vessels ; the husband is to have the riddle, the wife is to have the small sieve. The husband is to have the upper stone of the quern and the wife the lower. The bed-clothes that are over them belong to the wife, those that are under them belong to the husband until he marries again. . . . To the husband belong the kettle, the bed-coverlet, the bolster of the dormitory, the coulter, the fuel axe, the auger, the settle, and all the hooks except one, and that to the wife. To the wife belong the pan, the trivet, the broad axe, the hedge bill, the ploughshare, all the flax, all the linseed, the wool, the housebag with its contents, except gold and silver, which, if there be any, are to be shared. If there be webs, they are to be shared ; the yarn balls to the children, if there be any, if not, they are to be shared. The husband is to have the barn and all the corn above ground and under ground, the husband is to have all the poultry and one of the cats ; the rest belong to the wife.

5. The provisions are to be thus shared : to the wife belong the meat in the brine and the cheese in the brine ; but after they are hung up they belong to the husband : to the wife belong the vessels of butter in cut, the meat in cut, the cheese in cut : to the wife belongs as much meal as she can carry between her arms and knees from the store-room to the house.

6. To each of them belong their clothes, except their mantles : the mantles are to be shared.

8. Their debts let them pay in equal shares.

#### *Of the Law of Brothers for Land.*

1. Thus brothers are to share land between them, four erws<sup>1</sup> to every tyddyn.<sup>2</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Erw*, the amount of land which could be ploughed in one day, roughly an acre.

<sup>2</sup> *Tyddyn*, land under cultivation ; a tenement, a holding, or farm.

3. If there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to divide all the patrimony, and the oldest is to choose; unto the youngest each in seniority. If there be buildings, the youngest brother but one is to divide the tyddyns, for in that case he is the meter, and the youngest to have his choice of the tyddyns, and after that he is to divide the patrimony, and by seniority they are to choose unto the youngest. . . .

### iii. THE PROOF-BOOK

#### 1. *Of the Nine Accessories of Galanas this treats.*

The first is to point out the person to be murdered to the person who is to murder him. . . . The second is to counsel the murderer to kill the other; the third is to consent to the murder. For each of those three accessories, if denied, the oaths of one hundred men<sup>1</sup> are to deny it: if he confess it, let him pay nine score of silver.

The fourth is to be a spy; the fifth is association with the murderer; the sixth is to go to the place where the person is who is to be killed, with the murderer. To deny each of these three, the oaths of two hundred men are required, or twice nine score of silver if acknowledged.

The seventh is to be aiding; the eighth is to hold the person who is to be killed, until the murderer come to kill him; the ninth is to see the person murdered in his presence without rescuing him.

Whoever is a murderer, the full galanas falls upon him. And thus the galanas is to be shared: one-third upon the murderer, and upon his father and mother if they be living; and of that, two parts upon himself, and the third upon his father and mother; and of the third which falls upon the parents, two pence upon the father and one upon the mother. . . .

Of the two parts that fall upon his kindred (*cenedl*), the third upon the kindred of the murderer's mother and the two

<sup>1</sup> This is *rbaith*. Cf. English *compurgation*.

parts upon the kindred of his father; and so the galanas proceeds from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent . . . and galanas goes no further than that. . . .

## 2. *Of the Laws of Theft.*

It is customary at present to require for every theft, whether great or small, the oaths of twelve men. . . .

Though the rhaith of a criminal fail, whatever the amount of theft he shall be accused of, he is not to be executed if he pay seven pounds, and if he cannot pay he is not to be executed, only exiled. . . .

Whoever is exiled by the sentence of the law is to set out on his departure the following morning; and from that time forward a day is allowed for passing through each cantref belonging to the lord who shall exile him, and that is the delay for an exile. . . .

Whoever is exiled by the sentence of the law, and is found in the country beyond the time assigned for remaining in the country, let him lose his life unless he can find some one to buy him, for he is not to return to the country during the life of the lord who exiled him unless he be pardoned. . . .

Seven pounds is the worth of a thief that is to be sold.

He who forfeits his life is not to lose any of his property, because both reparation and punishment are not to be exacted, only payment of the property to the loser. . . .

The Dimetian Code has a noteworthy clause exempting three classes of thieves from the penalty of their theft.

*Ancient Laws of Wales, Dimetian Code, II. viii. 94.*

Three thieves who shall escape for an acknowledged theft: a necessitous person who shall traverse three trefs and nine houses in each tref without obtaining either alms or food to relieve him, though he be caught with stolen eatables in his possession he is free by law; and a wife for stealing jointly with her husband; and a stealer of tame fowls, the law sets

him free, only paying to their owner the legal worth of the fowls he takes.

*Of the Laws of Fire*

*Of the Nine Accessories of Fire.*

The first is giving counsel to burn the house ; the second is consenting to burn it ; the third is going for the purpose of burning it ; the fourth is carrying the fuel ; the fifth is striking the fire ; the sixth is procuring tinder ; the seventh is fanning the fire until it shall kindle ; the eighth is giving the fire to the person who shall burn with it ; the ninth is seeing it burning. Whoever may will to deny any one of these, let him give the oaths of fifty men to deny it. . . .

Whoever shall burn a house and that house burn another, let him pay for the house he set fire to, and thus let payment be made from house to house, as far as the fire shall extend. . . .

Whoever shall take fire surreptitiously from a house, let him pay for his act and the surreption. . . .

Three fires for which no indemnity is to be made : burning of heath in March ; the fire of a smithy in a hamlet which is seven fathoms distant from the nearest houses, and which is covered with shingles, or tiles, or sods ; and the fire of a bath in a hamlet, that shall be seven fathoms from the other houses. . . .

If a house in a town take fire through carelessness, let the owner pay for the two nearest houses which shall take fire and thence onward let them pay from next to next, as they are bound to do. . . .

Whosoever shall burn heath at any other time than in the month of March is to pay for the damage. . . .

If swine enter a house and scatter fire about so as to burn the house, and the swine escape, let the owner of the swine pay for their act. If the swine be burned, it is an equation between them, as being two irrational things, and therefore,

where there is an equation of law, there is to be nothing redressed, but one is to be set against the other. . . .

Let no one give fire without knowing what is to be done with it, and if he should do so let him pay one-third of any damage. . . .

If a person in carrying fire from the house of another should occasion sparks to fly about, let him pay for his act, unless he can impute part of it to the fire. . . .

### *Of Animals*

*And of the worth of wild and tame animals this treats.*

1. The first of them is this : the foal of a mare is four pence in value until the end of the fourteenth day after he is foaled.

2. The next day he is twenty-four pence in value . . . and thus he continues to the end of the year.

3. If he attain the age of one year and a day, another twenty-four pence is added, and so he is worth forty-eight pence ; and thus he continues till the third year.

4. And then he proceeds to three score pence ; and then he is to be broken in, and it is right to prepare him for the use to be made of him, whether as a stallion, a palfrey, or a working horse. . . .

6. A palfrey is six score pence in value.

7. A rounchy or a sumpter-horse is six score pence in value.

8. A working horse that shall draw a car and a harrow is worth three score pence. . . .

14. The worth of a horse's foot is his full worth.

15. And a third of his worth is an eye ; and the worth of the other eye is another third. . . .

17. Whoever shall cut off the tail of a horse, let him put the horse in a place where he shall not be seen, and let him give another horse in hire of it to the owner, and let him keep that horse until the tail of his own horse shall have grown as well as ever, it remaining idle. . . .

*The law of borrowing a horse.*

20. Whoever shall borrow a horse of another and shall fret the hair on his back, is to pay four legal pence.

21. If the skin be broken to the flesh, he is to pay eight legal pence.

22. If the skin and the flesh be broken to the bone, he is to pay sixteen pence.

23. Whoever shall take a horse without permission, let him pay four pence for mounting, and four pence for every rhandir<sup>1</sup> over which he shall go : nothing is to be paid for dismounting, for it is right to dismount since he was mounted, and that is to the owner of the horse, and the camlwrw<sup>2</sup> to the lord.

24. Whoever shall hire a horse, though the horse shall die in his possession, nothing is required but his own oath that he treated him as well as if he had been his own, while he hired him, and the hire shall be paid.

Similar regulations are drawn up for other animals, wild and tame ; for instance, a full-grown mare was worth three score pence, a cow two score pence, an ox three score pence, a sucking pig two pence, a sow thirty pence, a boar equal to the worth of three sows ; the worth of a kitten until it shall open its eyes is one penny, and from that time till it shall kill mice, two pence, and after that four pence, and so it always remains.

A hen is one penny in value, a cock is two hens in value, every chicken is a sheaf of oats or a farthing in value, until it shall roost ; after that a halfpenny until it shall lay or until it shall crow is its value.

Dogs and many other possessions varied in value according to the rank of the owner ; for example :

The spaniel of the king is a pound in value.

The spaniel of a noble is a pound in value.

The spaniel of a freeman is six score pence in value.

The spaniel of an aillt<sup>3</sup> is four pence, the same as his cur.

<sup>1</sup> A division of land containing 312 erws.

<sup>2</sup> A fine for lesser offences paid to the King or Lord.

<sup>3</sup> Taeog, bilain, or villein.

*Harps.*

The king's harp, six score pence.

The harp of the chief of song, six score pence.

The harp of the chief huntsman, three score pence.

*Of co-tillage<sup>1</sup> this treats.*

1. Whoever shall engage in co-tillage with another, it is right for them to give surety for performance, and mutually join hands, and after they have done that, to keep it until the tye be completed ; the tye is twelve erws. . . .

2. The first crw (ploughed) belongs to the ploughman, the second to the (provider of the) irons ; the third to the (provider of the) exterior sod ox ; the fourth to the exterior sward ox, lest the yoke should be broken ; and the fifth to the driver ; and so the erws are appropriated . . . unto the last. . . .

9. If a person will to sell an ox out of co-tillage in which it is put, he is not to sell it until the co-tillage be ended, nor to exchange it. . . .

10. Every one is to bring his requisites to the ploughing, whether ox or irons or other things pertaining to him, and after everything is brought to them the ploughman and the driver are to keep the whole safely, and to use them as well as they would their own.

11. The driver is to yoke the oxen carefully, so that they be not too tight nor too loose, and drive them so as not to break their hearts, and if damage happen to them on that occasion, he is to make it good, or else swear that he used them not worse than his own.

13. . . . After the co-tillage is completed, every one is to take his requisites with him home.

<sup>1</sup> A primitive plough required at least four oxen to draw it, therefore it was the custom to co-operate in ploughing. This was optional in the free trev, but compulsory in the taeogdrev, where it was the law that ' No one from a taeogdrev is to plough until every one in the trev shall obtain co-tillage.'

## VI

## GRUFFYDD AP LLYWELYN

§ I. *The Character of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn*

Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, II. xxiii (slightly abridged).

THIS Gruffydd in his youth, and during the lifetime of his father, Llywelyn, was idle and lazy, lounging away his time by the fire in his father's house, doing nothing. One night, after his conduct had shamed him many a time, his sister came to him in tears, and said, 'Dearest brother, it is a great disgrace to the king and the whole kingdom that you, the sole heir to the throne, have been made a jest and a by-word. But now I have a request to make to you, a simple thing and safe enough. It is the custom of our country on this night, the first night of the New Year,<sup>1</sup> for all young men to go out for plunder, for theft, or at least for eavesdropping, so that each may be tested in these pursuits. They may plunder like Jestyn, who went far afield, brought home his booty without bargaining or interruption, and for that year enjoyed such a name as none since. Or they may go stealing like Golenusbard, who brought back a bundle of hay taken from a sty full of pigs without provoking a single grunt, and so for that year could steal whatsoever he would without causing any complaint. Or they go spying or eavesdropping like Tewdwr, who, stealthily approaching the house of Meilyr, heard one of those who sat within say, "This morning I saw a small cloud rise from the sea and grow to be a great cloud covering the whole sea." So that Tewdwr went away thinking of himself in his youth as that small cloud rising from the sea, which is Wales, because it, like the sea, is never at rest, and born to be king hereafter, which actually came to pass. Now,

<sup>1</sup> New Year was a favourite time for seeking omens, and all the cases which the sister mentions were evidently of that nature.

# WALES

at the time of  
EDWARD I

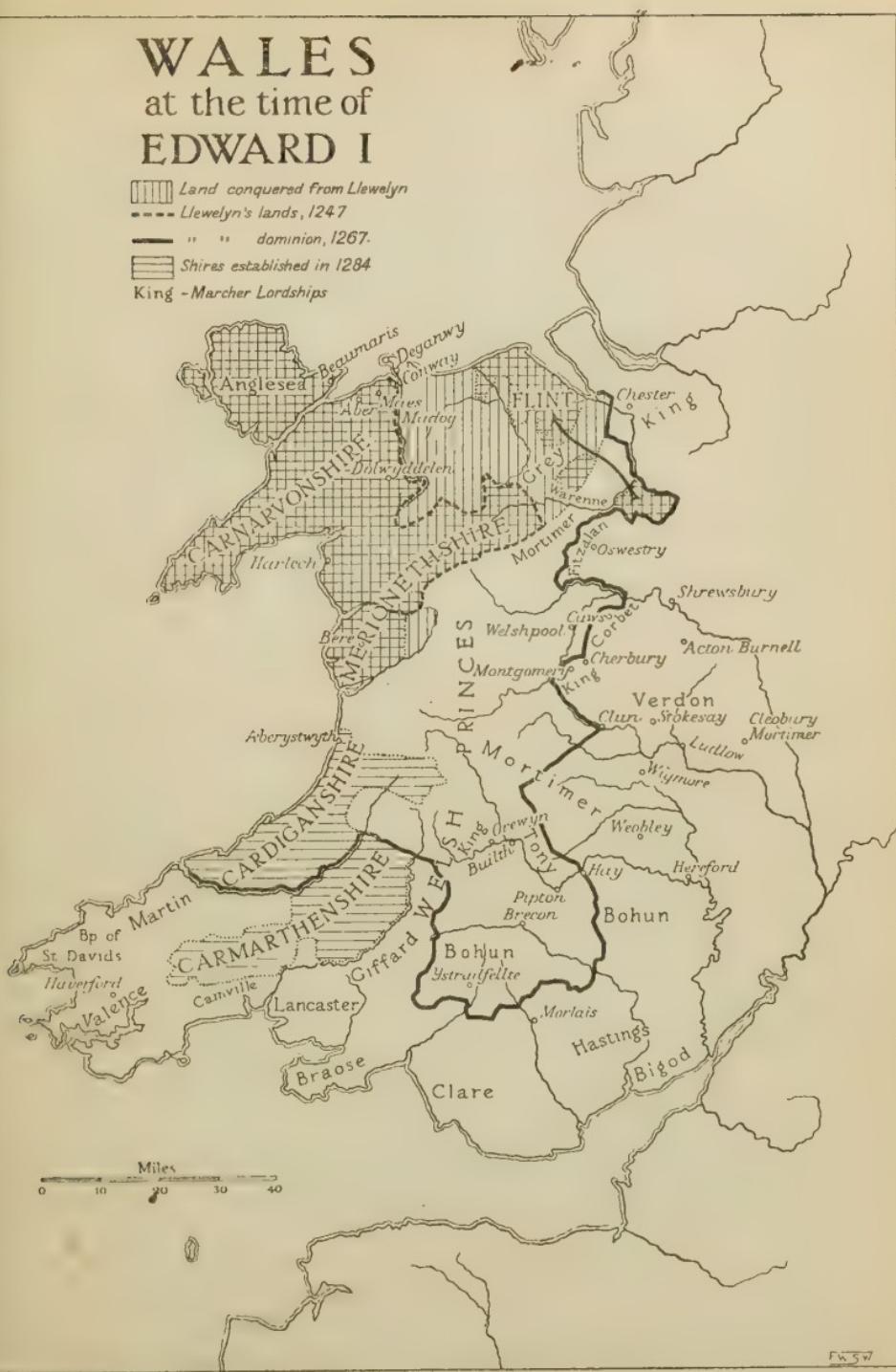
 Land conquered from Llewelyn

 Llewelyn's lands, 1247

 " " dominion, 1267.

 Shires established in 1284

King - Marcher Lordships



my dearest brother, do at least go out spying, for that is safe enough.'

Roused by these words, and as if throwing off heavy slumber, the youth, filled with a passion unknown to him before, suddenly became strong and active, and, summoning a few companions, secretly took up his position by the wall of a certain house.<sup>1</sup> A large company sat within waiting for some chopped beef which the cook was stirring round with a flesh hook in a cauldron set on the fire. Said the cook, 'I've one strange piece of meat here, for I keep sending it to the bottom and putting it under all the rest, and immediately it comes to the top again.' 'That means me,' said Gruffydd, 'for many have tried and will try to crush me, but I shall always overcome their evil intentions.'

And so, delighted with this clear sign, he left his father, declared war on his neighbours, and showed himself the most cunning of thieves and most violent plunderer of other people's goods. Companions in wickedness flocked quickly to his side, and his father soon came to dread him.

After his father's death his sway extended over all Wales, and his people had peace except from his own oppressive ways. He was not unlike Alexander of Macedon, or indeed any unbridled devotee of greed and lust. He was extravagant, alert, active, daring, eloquent, affable, ostentatious, not to be relied on, treacherous, and cruel. Let him see a young man of good and brave disposition, and he would either cut him off by guile, or so destroy his bodily strength as to prevent him from growing to vigorous manhood. He always had his own safety in mind, and, having of a sudden come to supreme power, he would remark, 'I am not in favour of killing anyone, I do but blunt the horns of the young of Wales lest they hurt their mother.'

<sup>1</sup> Remember that Welsh houses were made only of wattle daubed with mud, and it must have been quite easy to hear through the walls, and quite possible to see through in places.

§ 2. *Gruffydd's Battles*

1039.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

AFTER that the Pagans captured Meurig ap Howel; and Iago, king of Gwynedd, was slain: and Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll governed in his stead: and he from beginning to end pursued the Saxons and the other nations and destroyed them, overcoming them in a multitude of battles. The first battle he fought at Rhyd y Groes<sup>1</sup> on the Severn, where he was victorious. That year he depopulated Llanbadarn and obtained the government of South Wales, dispossessing Howel ab Edwin of his territory. . . .

1041. Howel ab Edwin planned the devastation of South Wales, accompanied by a fleet of the people of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> and he was opposed by Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. After a cruel battle and a vast slaughter of the army of Howel and the Irish at Aber Tywi, Howel fell and was slain and Gruffydd was victorious.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1055. And then Gruffydd ap Llywelyn killed Gruffydd ap Rhydderch. After that Gruffydd ap Llywelyn raised an army against the Saxons, and arrayed his forces at Hereford; and against him the Saxons rose with a very great host, Ralph<sup>3</sup> being commander over them, and they met together, arranged their armies and prepared to fight. Gruffydd attacked them immediately with well-ordered troops, and, after a severe battle, the Saxons, unable to bear the assault of the Welsh, took to flight, and fell with a very great slaughter. Gruffydd closely pursued them to the castle, destroyed it and burnt the town; and from thence, with very great booty, he returned happily and gloriously to his own country.

<sup>1</sup> Near Welshpool. The exact position is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The Danes who had settled in Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph of Mantes, nephew of Edward the Confessor, and builder of the first castles in England. See *Saxon Chronicles*, 1048.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Then, within a little time after, was a meeting of the Witan in London, and Aelfgar the Earl was outlawed without any kind of guilt : and he went then to Ireland, and there procured a fleet of eighteen ships besides his own : and then went he to Wales, to King Gruffydd, with that force : and he received him into his protection. . . .

Then a force was gathered from well nigh throughout all England, and they came to Gloucester, and so went out, not far, among the Welsh : and there they lay some time. And Harold the Earl caused the ditch to be dug about Hereford the while. Then, during this, they spake concerning peace, and Harold the Earl and those who were with him came to Billingsley : and there peace and friendship was established between them. And then they inlawed Aelfgar the Earl, and gave him all that before had been taken from him.

In 1056, Leofgar, a warlike friend of Harold, was appointed Bishop of Hereford. When he found the cathedral and town a heap of blackened ruins

he forsook his chrism and his rood, his spiritual weapons, and took to his spear and his sword . . . and so went to the field against Gruffydd, the Welsh king : and there was he slain, and his priests with him, and Aelfnoth, the Sheriff, and many good men with them : and the others fled away.<sup>1</sup> This was eight days before midsummer. It is difficult to tell the distress and all the marching and camping and the travail and the destruction of men and horses which all the English army endured until Leofric the Earl, Harold the Earl, and Bishop Aldred (of Worcester) made a reconciliation between them ; so that Gruffydd swore oaths that he would be to King Edward a faithful and true underking.

<sup>1</sup> This fight took place near Glasbury.

### § 3. Story of a Treaty between Edward the Confessor and Gruffydd

Walter Map tells a story about the making of a treaty between Edward and Gruffydd, which, if true, must refer to this treaty of 1056.

Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, II. xxiii.

NUMEROUS as were his crimes, Gruffydd is credited with one famous and honourable exploit. This was when he was such a burden and plague to his neighbours that Edward, then king of England, was compelled either to intercede on behalf of his subjects or to arm himself in their defence. Thus it happened that envoys were sent from each side who conversed from opposite banks of the Severn, Edward being at Aust Cliff and Gruffydd at Beachley. Nobles came and went between them in boats, and, after many exchanges of messages, there was a long dispute as to which should cross over to the other. The crossing because of the violence of the current was certainly difficult, but this was not the reason for the difference of opinion. Gruffydd claimed seniority, Edward equality : Gruffydd because his ancestors had won from the giants all England no less than Cornwall, Scotland, and Wales, and he claimed to be their heir in strict line of descent ; Edward because his ancestors had taken the land from the original conquerors. However, after much wrangling and discussion, Edward entered a boat and went to meet Gruffydd. The Severn is at that part about 300 yards wide. Gruffydd seeing and recognizing Edward, threw off his robe of state, for he had dressed for a meeting in public, entered the water breast-high and eagerly embraced the boat. ‘ Most wise monarch,’ said he, ‘ thy humility has conquered my pride, wisdom has triumphed over folly. Do thou mount upon the neck which I, in my silly pride, raised against thee, and thus shalt thou enter upon the land which thy graciousness hath made thine own.’ And Gruffydd, having carried him to land upon his shoulders,

afterwards made him sit upon his robe, and did homage to him with joined hands.

This was an excellent foundation of peace, but it was observed by the Welsh as might have been expected, since they will keep peace only when they can do no mischief.

#### § 4. *Gruffydd overthrown by Harold*

1062.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

AFTER Christmas-day, Harold, the valiant Earl of the West Saxons, took by King Edward's command a small troop of horsemen and . . . went in all haste to Rhuddlan, with the determination to slay Gruffydd, King of the Welsh, on account of his frequent forays in the English Marches, and the many insults which he had offered to his lord, King Edward. But Gruffydd, hearing of his coming, fled with his men, and taking ship, escaped, though with great difficulty. When Harold heard of his flight, he ordered his palace and ships and implements of navigation to be burned, and then returned the same day.

1063. But about Rogation week (26 May), he set out from Bristol with a naval force, and sailed round a great part of Wales. Then his brother, Earl Tostig, met him by the king's command. Having united their forces, they began to lay waste that part of the country. The Welsh were thus compelled to give hostages and submit, and promised to pay tribute to him: they also outlawed and renounced their king, Gruffydd.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, the head and shield and defender of the Welsh, fell through the treachery of his own men.

Giraldus Cambrensis. *Description of Wales*, Book II,  
chapter 7.

As a memorial to Harold's signal victories, many stones may be found in Wales bearing the inscription 'Hic victor fuit Haroldus'—Here Harold conquered.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If such stones were ever set up by Harold they have all perished. As a matter of fact Harold did not fight battles; he wasted the country to

## THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

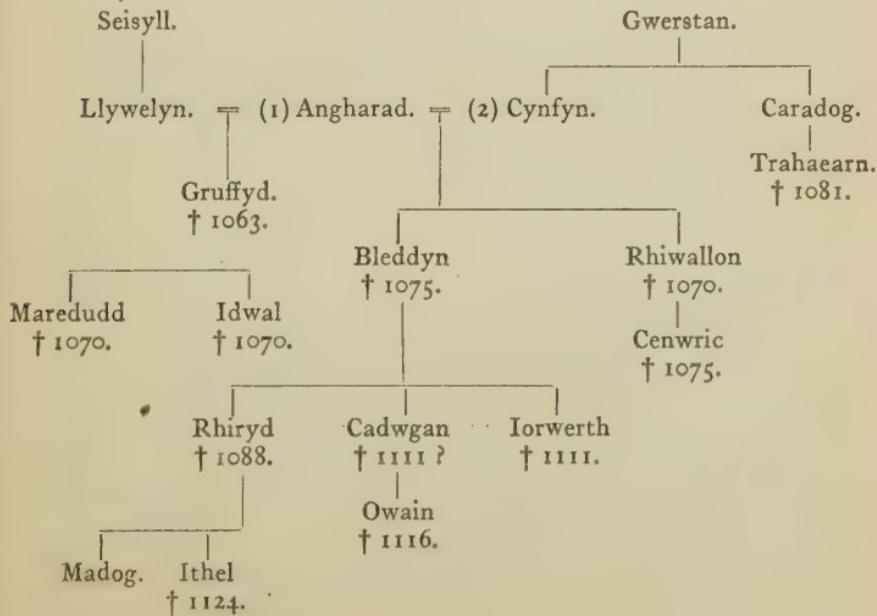
§ I. *From the Death of Gruffydd to the coming of the Normans*

1063.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

GRUFFYDD, King of the Welsh, was slain by his subjects on 5th August, and his head and his ship's beak with its ornaments were sent to Earl Harold, who at once forwarded them to King Edward. King Edward afterwards gave Wales to his (Gruffydd's) brothers,<sup>1</sup> Bleddyn and Rhwallon, who swore fealty to him and Earl Harold, and promised always to obey their behests by land and by sea, and pay starve the people into submission, and he hunted Gruffydd as though he had been some savage beast. For an excellent account of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn and what he did for Wales at this critical time, see an article by Professor J. E. Lloyd on 'The Norman Conquest of Wales' in *The Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1900.

<sup>1</sup> Gruffydd's half-brothers.



properly all that the country had previously paid to former kings.<sup>1</sup>

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

1065. In July, Harold, the valiant earl of the West Saxons, gave orders for the erection of a large building at a place called Porthascith<sup>2</sup> in Wales, and gave directions that it should be well stocked with meat and drink, in order that his lord, King Edward, might pass some time there in hunting. But Caradog, son of Gruffydd,<sup>3</sup> king of the South Welsh (whom Gruffydd, king of the North Welsh, had slain, and whose territory he had invaded some years before), marched there with as many men as he could get together, on the feast day of St. Bartholomew (24th August), and massacred nearly all the workmen and overseers, and carried off all the provisions which had been carried there.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1066. That Harold who, at first earl, through cruelty after the death of King Edward, unjustly acquired the sovereignty of England, was despoiled of his kingdom and life by William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, though previously vauntingly victorious.

## § 2. *The Battle of Mechain*

1070.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

AND then the action of Mechain<sup>4</sup> took place between Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, sons of Cyniyn, and Maredudd and Idwal, sons of Gruffydd, when the sons of Gruffydd fell.

<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Norman poet, Gaimar, says, 'No more heed was paid to the Welsh', but this is hardly accurate, as the following extract shows.

<sup>2</sup> Portskefet, on the coast of Gwent, about half way between the Usk and the Wye.

<sup>3</sup> This was Caradog ap Gruffydd ap Rhuddersch, who had won back his father's province of Gwent. The old lines had been restored in other parts of South Wales also, for Maredudd, nephew of the Howel whom Gruffydd ap Llywelyn had slain in 1044, had obtained Deheubarth, and Cadwgan ap Meurig had been set up in Morgannwg.

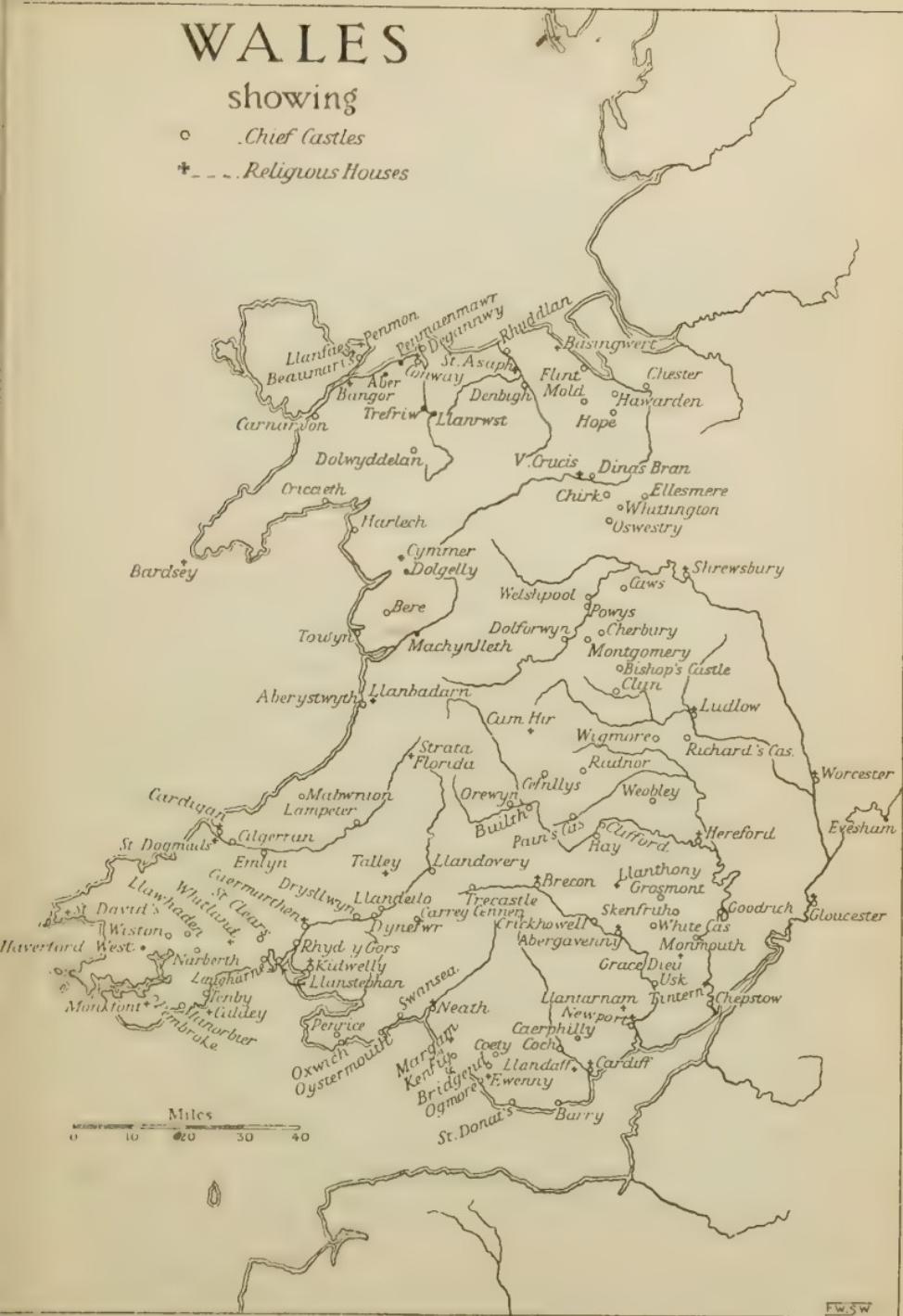
<sup>4</sup> Mechain was a cantref in the north-east of Powys.

# WALES

showing

o Chief castles

Religious Houses



Idwal was killed in the battle, and Maredudd died of cold during his flight ; and there Rhiwallon, son of Cynfyn, was slain. And then Bleddyn held Gwynedd and Powys.

### § 3. *French Invasions*

1072.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**M**AREDUDD AB OWAIN was killed by Caradog ap Gruffydd and the French on the banks of the river Rhymney.

1073. Then a year after that the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed.

1074. Then a year after that a second time the French devastated Ceredigion. . . .<sup>1</sup>

### § 4. *Death of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*

1075.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**B**LEDDYN AP CYNFYN was killed by Rhys ab Owain through the treachery of evil-minded chieftains and the nobles of Ystrad Tywi—the man who, after Gruffydd, his brother, nobly supported the whole kingdom of the Welsh.

### § 5. *The Youth of Gruffydd ap Cynan*

*Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan.*

**G**RUFFYDD, as a boy, was well-mannered and gently reared. As he grew older his mother, in whose house and amongst whose kin he lived, daily talked to him about his father, telling who and what manner of man he was, what lands he had inherited, what kingdom he had ruled, and what

<sup>1</sup> The French who seized Ceredigion were the men of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury. Led by Roger's son, Arnulph, they forced their way up the Severn valley and over the hills down into Ceredigion and Dyfed.

oppressors now dwelt in it. When he heard these things depression overwhelmed him and he was sad for many days. Then he went to the court of King Murchad and lamented to him chiefly, but also to the other kings of Ireland, that an alien race was lording it over his father's kingdom, and he jestingly besought them to help him in the effort to recover his inheritance. And they, pitying him, promised to help him at an opportune season. When he heard the answer he was glad and gave thanks to God and to them. And forthwith<sup>1</sup> he went on board a vessel, spread the sails to the breeze, and, crossing the sea towards Wales, found harbour in Abermenai. At that time Trahaearn, son of Caradog, and Cenwric, the son of Rhiwallon, were, in spite of truth and right, ruling as kings over Powys and the whole of Gwynedd, which they had shared between them.

Then Gruffydd sent envoys to the men of Anglesey and Arvon, and to the three sons of Merwyd of Lleyn (Asser, Meirion, and Gwgan) and to other noblemen, asking them to come to him in haste. And before long they arrived, greeted him heartily, and told him that he was welcome. Then he besought them with all his might to help him to recover his patrimony (because he was their liege lord), and to take up arms with him bravely to drive out the strangers who had usurped dominion over them.... After the meeting was over and the council dispersed, he betook himself to the sea again, sailing towards Rhuddlan. Robert,<sup>2</sup> the lord of the castle there, nephew to Hugh, Earl of Chester, was a baron famous, bold, and powerful, and to him Gruffydd prayed for help against the enemies who were in possession of his patrimony.

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of the *Hanes* must not be followed too closely. Gruffydd evidently had to wait at least five years, for King Murchad died in 1070, and Gruffydd got no opportunity to attempt to win Gwynedd till after the death of Bleddyin in 1075.

<sup>2</sup> Robert of Rhuddlan is generally stated to have been the cousin, not the nephew, of Earl Hugh.

When Robert heard who he was, why he had come, and what his prayer was, he promised to help him. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Then Gruffydd went on board his vessel and returned to Abermenai. Thence he sent a force . . . against King Cenwric, their oppressor. Departing stealthily, they surprised and slew him with many of his men. . . . Returning in triumph to Gruffydd, they urged him to follow up his good fortune and attack Anglesey and Arvon and Lieyn, and the cantrefs of Meirionydd where Trahaearn, his other oppressor, was. The armies met in a narrow valley called in Welsh Gwaet Ftw or the Bloody Land, because of the battle there fought, and God gave Gruffydd the victory over his enemies that day, many thousands of them being slain, and the woful Trahaearn himself hardly escaping with a few of his men. For this cause, Gruffydd was, from that day forth, raised to honour and rightly called King of Gwynedd.

## § 6. *The Battle of Pwll Gwdyg and Death of Rhys ab Owain*

1078.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

AND a year after that, the battle of Pwll Gwdyg (Goodwick) took place, when Trahaearn, King of Gwynedd, prevailed, and by the grace of God avenged the blood of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, who was the mildest and most merciful of kings, who would injure no one unless offended, and even when offended he unwillingly avenged the offence. He was gentle to his relatives, and was the defender of the orphans, the helpless, and the widows; he was the supporter of the wise, the honour and stay of churches, and the comfort of the countries; generous to all, terrible in war, lovable in peace, and a defence to every one. And there all the family of Rhys fell, and he became a fugitive, like a timid stag before the hounds,

<sup>1</sup> It was always to the interest of the Normans to encourage wars amongst the Welsh, and so weaken opposition to their own encroachments.

through thickets and rocks. And at the end of that year Rhys and Howel and his brother were killed by Caradog ap Gruffydd.<sup>1</sup>

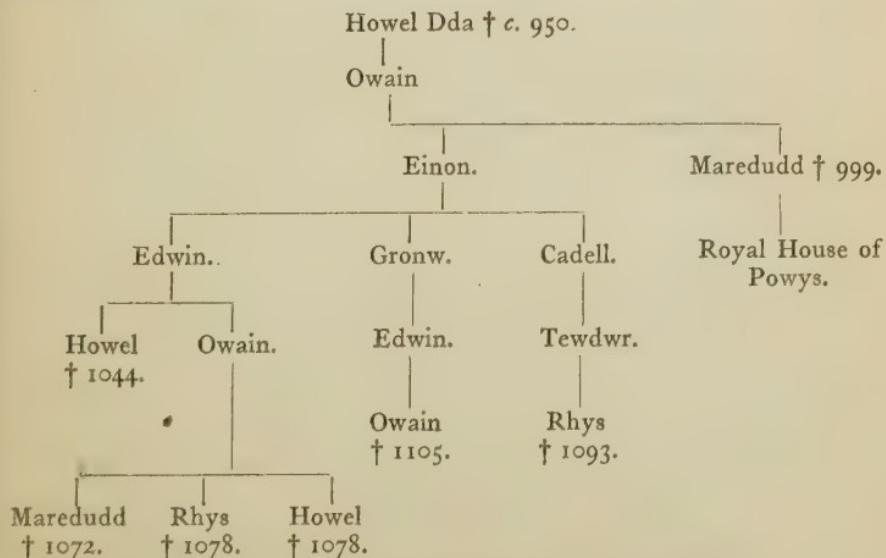
### § 7. Alliance between Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr and the Battle of Carn Mountain

Rhys ap Tewdwr, who claimed South Wales, had little following, and he was soon driven out by Caradog ap Gruffydd (who was in alliance with Trahaearn), and forced to take sanctuary at St. Davids. There Gruffydd ap Cynan found him in 1081, and entered into an alliance with him against their common enemies.

*Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan.*

AND after making a long day's journey, they came about eventide to a mountain where the aforesaid kings<sup>2</sup> were stationed. Then Rhys said to King Gruffydd, 'Lord, let us put off fighting till to-morrow, for it is already evening and the day is far spent.' 'You can put it off if you like', cried

<sup>1</sup> The death of Rhys left South Wales for any one who was strong enough to hold it. It was claimed by Rhys ap Tewdwr, a second cousin of Rhys ab Owain.



<sup>2</sup> Trahaearn, Caradog ap Gruffydd, and Meilyr ap Rhiwallon.

Gruffydd, ‘but I am for fighting now, and I shall set on them at once.’ And thus it was. The aforesaid kings also were in some fear when they saw the exultant and warlike hosts of King Gruffydd and his troops with their banners before them, and the Danes with their two-handed battle-axes, and the Irish armed with spears and iron flails, and the men of Gwynedd with sword and shield. Gruffydd in the forefront of the battle advanced like a hero and a lion, ceaselessly scattering his enemies with his shining sword. He put strength into his men to meet their foes bravely, that they should not turn their backs to them under any circumstances.

Then there was a great battle, the memory of which parents will keep fresh in the minds of their children. The shouts of the fighters rang upon the air ; the earth echoed with the tread of horses and footmen ; the roar of battle was heard afar ; the clash of arms resounded without ceasing. Gruffydd’s men pressed on stoutly, their enemies giving way before them. Sweat from their toil and blood mingled in running streams. And then was Trahaearn so stabbed in the body that he lay on the ground dying, biting the long grass with his teeth and feeling blindly for his weapons ; and Gwchari the Irishman made bacon of him as if he were a pig. And in the selfsame place there fell around him five-and-twenty warriors of his household band. Some of them were killed in the first troop. Many thousands of them were killed altogether. Others turned their backs upon Gruffydd’s men and took to flight. These Gruffydd, according to his usual custom, pursued triumphantly with his followers through woods and valleys, over bog and mountain, throughout that night by the light of the moon and through the next day, and there was hardly one who escaped from the battle to his own land.

The mountain on which the battle was fought is called by the people of the district Mynydd Carn, that is the mountain of the cairn, for there is there a great cairn of stones, under which some warrior was buried in days of old.

*Annales Cambriæ.*

1081. The battle of Carn Mountain, in which Trahaearn ap Caradog and Caradog ap Gruffydd and Meilyr ap Rhiwallon were slain by Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gruffydd ap Cynan.<sup>1</sup>

§ 8. *William the Conqueror makes a pilgrimage to St. Davids*

1081.

*The Welsh Chroniclers.*

AND then in that year William the Bastard, King of the Saxons and the French and the Welsh, came for prayer on a pilgrimage to St. Davids.<sup>2</sup>

## VIII

### WALES IN THE TIME OF WILLIAM II AND HENRY I

§ 1. *The Death of Rhys ap Tewdwr*

When William I died there was a change of policy towards Wales. Norman barons pushed rapidly westward by land and sea, establishing themselves on the coast even as far as Newport, Pembrokeshire. One of the most vigorous of these Norman adventurers was Bernard of Newmarket, who pushed into Brycheiniog.

1093.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

RHYS TEWDWR, King of South Wales, was killed by the French who inhabited Brycheiniog, and then fell the kingdom of the Britons.

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of this battle is not known. It was probably on the lower slopes of Carn Ingli, above Dinas. For a confirmation of this view formed from a thorough knowledge of the district and place-names, see the article of Sir Evan D. Jones in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, December 1922.

<sup>2</sup> William, though a deeply religious man, certainly did not come so far simply to visit the shrine of an obscure Welsh saint. The *Saxon Chronicle* says: 'This year the King led an army into Wales, and there he freed many hundred men.' This suggests that the Normans were hard pressed by the Welsh, some of them were probably besieged in their castles, and that William came down to relieve them and to make terms with Rhys ap Tewdwr. It is possible that the Norman King and Welsh Prince met at

*Florence of Worcester.*

Rhys, King of the Welsh, during Easter week, was slain in battle near the castle of Brecknock. From that day<sup>1</sup> kings ceased to reign in Wales.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

And then Cadwgan ap Bleddyn despoiled Dyfed on the second day of May. And two months after that, about the calends of July, the French came into Ceredigion and Dyfed, which they have still retained, and fortified the castles and seized upon all the land of the Welsh.

## § 2. *Revolt in Wales, 1094*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

WHILST William remained in Normandy the Britons resisted the dominion of the French, not being able to bear their cruelty, and demolished their castles in Gwynedd, and continued their depredations and slaughter among them. And then the French led their armies into Gwynedd, and Cadwgan, son of Bleddyn, went against them, and attacked and prevailed over them, putting them to flight and killing them with a great slaughter. And that battle was fought in the wood of Yspwys.<sup>2</sup> And towards the end of that year the Britons demolished all the castles of Ceredigion and Dyfed, except two, to wit, Pembroke and Rhyd y Gors.<sup>3</sup> And the people and all the cattle of Dyfed they brought away with them, leaving Dyfed and Ceredigion a desert.

St. Davids, and it is probable that they came to an agreement, for as long as William I and Rhys lived there was comparative peace in South Wales. Rhys probably did homage to William for his lands, as in Domesday Book we find that he was paying £40 a year rent—probably for Deheubarth.

<sup>1</sup> The death of Rhys certainly did mark a fresh impetus to Norman advance.

<sup>2</sup> Coed Yspwys—site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> A ford on the Towy, about one mile below the old Roman fort of Carmarthen. At the command of the king, William Fiz Baldwin, sheriff of Devon, had built a castle there.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

1094. Also in this same year the Welsh gathered together, and joining against the French who were on the borders of Wales, and who had formerly seized their lands, raised war, and destroyed many fastnesses and castles, and slew men ; and after their followers had increased they divided themselves into parties. Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, fought with one part of them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding this, the rest, during the whole of this year, ceased not from doing all the evil they could.

### § 3. *Welsh resistance to the Normans, 1095-6*

1095.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

**I**N the midst of these things<sup>1</sup> it was made known to the King that the Welsh in Wales had broken into a castle called Montgomery, and slain Earl Hugh's men, who should have held it. And he immediately commanded that another army should be summoned in consequence. After Michaelmas he went into Wales, and divided up his army and overran all that land, so that the whole army came together again by All Saints at Snowdon. But the Welshmen always went before them into mountains and moors, so that no man might get at them. The King then returned home because he saw he could do no more that winter.<sup>2</sup>

1096. The following year died William Fitz Baldwin, who founded the castle of Rhyd y Gors at the command of the King of England. And after his death the custodians left the castle empty. And then the Britons of Brycheiniog, Gwent, and Gwenllwg resisted the domination of the French. Then the French directed an army against Gwent, but empty and

<sup>1</sup> The rebellion of the Earl of Northumberland and quarrel with Robert of Normandy.

<sup>2</sup> An early example of the type of expedition which was to occur frequently until the beginning of the fifteenth century, expeditions in which the English were to advance into the heart of Wales after ever-retreating Welsh, only to be sent ' bootless homie, and weather-beaten back '.

without having gained anything, they retreated, and in returning were slain by the Britons at Gelli Garnant.<sup>1</sup> After that the French raised an army against the Britons, meditating the devastation of the whole country, but, failing to carry out their intention, on returning back they were cut off by the sons of Idnerth ap Cadwgan, Gruffydd, and Ivor at Aberllech.<sup>2</sup> . . . In that year, Uchtryd, son of Edwin, and Howel, son of Goronwy, with many other chieftains of the family of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, marched and fought against the castle of Pembroke, despoiled it of all its cattle, ravaged the whole country, and with an immense booty returned home.

#### § 4. *Escape of Gruffydd ap Cynan from Prison,*

1094 (?)

*Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan.*

A YOUNG man of Edeyrnyon named Cenwric Hir came to Chester with a few companions to buy what they needed. And when he saw Gruffydd shackled in an open place, in the afternoon while the citizens were feeding, he took him on his back, and with his companions bore him to his own house, where he sustained him secretly for a few days. When Gruffydd had grown strong again, Cenwric led him by night to Anglesey.

#### § 5. *Siege of Pembroke Castle, 1096 (?)*

Giraldus Cambrensis. *Itinerary*, Book I, chapter 12.

ARNULPH DE MONTGOMERY,<sup>3</sup> in the reign of Henry I, erected here [Pembroke] a slender fortress with stakes and turf, which, on returning to England, he consigned to the care of Gerald de Windsor,<sup>4</sup> his constable and lieutenant-

<sup>1</sup> Site unidentified.      <sup>2</sup> Three miles north-east of Ystrad Gynlais.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Roger of Montgomery, and younger brother of Hugh of Shrewsbury and Robert of Bellême.

<sup>4</sup> Gerald of Windsor, Constable of Pembroke, was son of Walter Fitz Other, castellan of Windsor at the time of William I. He married Nest,

general, a worthy and discreet man. Immediately on the death of Rhys, son of Tewdwr, who a short time before had been slain by the treachery of his own troops at Brycheinog, leaving his son Gruffydd a child, the inhabitants of South Wales besieged the castle. One night when fifteen soldiers had deserted and endeavoured to escape from the castle in a small boat, on the following morning Gerald invested their armour-bearers with the arms and estates of their masters, and decorated them with the military order. The garrison being, from the length of the siege, reduced to the utmost want of provisions, the constable, with great prudence and flattering hopes of success, caused four hogs, which yet remained, to be cut into small pieces and thrown down to the enemy from the fortifications. The next day, having again recourse to a more refined stratagem, he contrived that a letter, sealed with his own signet, should be found before the house of Wilfred, Bishop of St. Davids,<sup>1</sup> who was then by chance in that neighbourhood, as if accidentally dropped, stating that there would be no necessity of soliciting the assistance of Earl Arnulph for the next four months to come. The contents of these letters being made known to the army, the troops abandoned the siege of the castle and retired to their own homes.

### § 6. *William's last Campaign in Wales, 1097*

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

AND after this [Easter] the king went with his army into Wales, and swiftly he passed through the land with his army, through the help of some Welshmen who came to him and were his guides. And there he remained from midsummer daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and was grandfather on his mother's side to Giraldus Cambrensis, and was ancestor of all the Fitzgeralds.

<sup>1</sup> Wilfred, Bishop of St. Davids, 1085–1115, was a Welshman, and was the last of the independent bishops of St. Davids. He naturally favoured the Welsh in their wars against the Normans. As Professor Lloyd says, although the site of his house is not mentioned, it must be Lamphey, an episcopal house a mile and a half from Pembroke.

till nearly August, and he suffered great loss of men and horses and of many other things. The Welshmen, when they had revolted from the king, chose rulers from among themselves : one of these, the worthiest of them, was brother's son<sup>1</sup> to King Gruffydd (ap Llywelyn). And when the king saw that he could not progress as he wished, he returned again into this land, and speedily after that he caused castles to be built along the Marches.

### § 7. *Invasion of Mona, 1098*

*Bru y Tywyssogion.*

THE ensuing year [1098] the French, for the third time, assembled their troops against Gwynedd, conducted by the two leaders, Hugh the Fat<sup>2</sup> and Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, as chiefs over them, and they encamped against the Isle of Mona,<sup>3</sup> in the place called Aber Lliennog, where they built a castle. And the Britons having retreated to their strongest places according to their custom, agreed in council to save Mona. And they invited to their defence a fleet that was at sea from Ireland, which had accepted gifts and rewards from the French. And then Cadwgan ap Bleddyne and Gruffydd ap Cynan left the Isle of Mona, and retreated into Ireland, for fear of the treachery of their own men. And then the French entered the island and killed some of the men of the island. And whilst they tarried there, Magnus, King of Germany,<sup>4</sup> came, accompanied by some of his ships, as far as Mona, hoping to be able to take possession of the lands of the Britons. And when King Magnus heard of the frequent designs of the French to devastate the whole country and to reduce it to nothing, he hastened to attack them. And as they were mutually shooting, the one party from the sea and

<sup>1</sup> Cadwgan ap Bleddyne : see Table, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Chester.

<sup>3</sup> Anglesey.

<sup>4</sup> Magnus, King of Norway, who had already seized the Isle of Man and wished to gain Anglesey.

the other party from the land, Earl Hugh<sup>1</sup> was wounded in the face by the hand of the king himself.

And then King Magnus, with sudden determination, left the borders of the country. So the French reduced all, great and small, to be Saxons. And when the Gwyneddians could not bear the law and judgements and violence of the French over them, they rose up a second time against them, having as their commander Owain ap Edwin,<sup>2</sup> the man who had originally brought the French into Mona.

1099. The year after that, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn and Gruffydd ap Cynan returned from Ireland. And after they had made peace with the French, they retained part of the country : Cadwgan ap Bleddyn took Ceredigion and a part of Powys, and Gruffydd obtained Mona.

### § 8. *The Death of Hugh the Proud, of Shrewsbury*

*The Orkneyingers Saga*, vol. iii, pp. 69-70, in Rolls edition.

**B**UT when King Magnus came to the isles he fell to harrying, first in the Lewes<sup>3</sup> and won them, and in that voyage he won all the southern isles and took captive Logman, the son of Gudred, the King of the Southern Isles. Thence he fared south under Bretland,<sup>4</sup> and had a great battle in Anglesey Sound with two British<sup>5</sup> Earls, Hugh the Stout and Hugh the Proud. . . . This battle was both hard and long, and both spears were thrown and blows struck ; it was long, so that it could not be seen between them which way the fight would turn. King Magnus shot with a crossbow, and another man from Helgeland shot by his side. Hugh the Proud fought most

<sup>1</sup> This is Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury. The arrow pierced the eye, and he fell into the water, his body being recovered only when the tide went down.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Lloyd says that Owain and his brother Uchtryd were probably tenants of Hugh of Chester in Tegeingl. They had guided the two earls to the shores of the Menai Straits.

<sup>3</sup> The most northerly of the Hebrides or Western Isles.      <sup>4</sup> Wales.

<sup>5</sup> These earls were not British but Norman. Hugh the Stout was Hugh of Chester, and Hugh the Proud was Hugh of Shrewsbury.

sturdily : he was so clad and byrnied<sup>1</sup> that there was no bare spot on him save the eyes. King Magnus bade the man from Helgeland that they should both shoot at him at once, and so they did, and one arrow struck him on the nose-guard, but the other went in at the eye and flew afterwards through the head. That shot was reckoned to the king.

There fell Hugh the Proud. After that the British fled and had lost many men, but the King Magnus had won a great victory, but had yet lost many good men, and very many were wounded.

### § 9. *The Revolt of Robert of Bellême, 1101-2*

1101.

*Florence of Worcester.*

ROBERT OF BELLÈME,<sup>2</sup> Earl of Shrewsbury, son of Earl Roger, began to fortify with a wide, deep, and lofty wall the bridge which Aegdfled, Queen of the Mercians, had built during the reign of her brother, Edward the Elder, on the western bank of the River Severn, in a place called in the Saxon tongue, Bryege.<sup>3</sup> And this he did against the king, as the issue proved. He began the construction of another castle also in Wales in a place called Caroclove.<sup>4</sup>

1102. The aforesaid Robert . . . fortified strongly against King Henry the city of Shrewsbury, the castle therein, and the castles of Arundel and Tickhill, supplying them with provisions, siege engines, arms, horse-soldiers, and footmen. He also hastened the completion of the walls and towers of the castles of Bryege and Caroclove, by carrying on the works night and day ; and he urged the Welshmen who were in subjection to him to the more prompt, faithful, and swift performance of his wishes by rewarding them liberally with honours, lands, horses, arms, and gifts of every sort. His plan was, however, soon interrupted, for his designs being discovered

<sup>1</sup> *Byrny* (A.S. *byrne*), corslet, cuirass.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Hugh the Proud who was killed in 1098.   <sup>3</sup> Bridgenorth.

<sup>4</sup> Carreghofa or Llwyntidman, in the parish of Llanymynech.

and clearly published, the king declared him to be a public enemy. Wherefore, having assembled as many Welshmen and Normans as he could gather, he and his brother Arnulph laid waste a part of the country of Stafford, and carried away into Wales many horses and cattle and some few men. But the king without delay besieged his castle of Arundel, and, having erected forts before it, he went away. Then he commanded Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, to besiege Tickhill with a part of his forces, and he himself besieged Bryege with the army of nearly all England, and began to construct there siege-engines and a fort. Meanwhile he very easily bribed by moderate presents the Welsh, in whom Robert had great confidence, to break their oaths and to desert from him and join the king against him. Within thirty days the city and all the castles having been surrendered, he crushed his enemy Robert and drove him ignominiously out of England, and punished his brother Arnulph shortly afterwards for his faithlessness by a similar expulsion.

#### § 10. *The Flemish Settlement in Wales*

Since the accession of William I many Flemings had settled in England. They did not get on well with the English, and so Henry I moved them to South Pembroke, where they would be useful in helping to keep the Welsh in check. This is of course the beginning of 'Little England beyond Wales'. It is probable that the English-speaking people on the south side of the Gower Peninsula were settled there about the same time and for the same reason.

1107.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**A**CERTAIN nation, not recognized in respect of origin and manners, and unknown as to where it had been concealed in the island for a number of years, was sent by King Henry into the country of Dyved. And that nation seized the whole cantred of Rhos, near the efflux of the river called Cleddyw, having driven off the people completely. That nation, as it is said, came from Flanders, the country which is situated nearest to the sea of the Britons, the whole region

having been reduced to disorder, and bearing no produce, owing to the sand cast into the land by the sea. At last, when they could get no space to inhabit, as the sea had poured over the maritime land, and the mountains were full of people . . . so that nation craved of King Henry and besought him to assign a place where they might dwell. And then they were sent into Rhos, expelling from thence the proprietary inhabitants, who thus lost their own country and place from that time till the present day.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, Book I, Chapter 11.

The inhabitants of this province who derived their origin from Flanders were sent to live in these parts by Henry I, King of the English ; they are a people brave and robust, and ever most hostile to the Welsh with whom they wage war ; a people, I say, most skilled in commerce and woollen manufactures ; a people eager to seek gain by land or sea in spite of difficulty or danger ; a hardy race equally ready for the plough or the sword ; a people happy and brave if Wales, as it should be, had been dear to the heart of its kings, and not so often experienced the vindictive resentment and ill treatment of its rulers.

## IX

### THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

§ 1. *Risings against the Normans and Flemings,*  
1135-6

1135.

*Annales Cambriae.*

AND great discord arose between the Welsh and the Normans, but the Welsh were victorious.

1136. Richard Fitz Gilbert<sup>1</sup> was slain by Morgan ab Owain. Owain and Cadwaladr, sons of Gruffydd ap Cynan, led an army into Ceredigion and against the castle of Walter de Bek ; and having destroyed the castle of Aberystwyth, the castle of

<sup>1</sup> Son of Gilbert de Clare, to whom Henry I had given Ceredigion in 1110.

Richard de la Mare, and Dinerth, they burnt the castle of Caerwedros also and returned to their own lands. Owain and Cadwaladr came to Ceredigion again, and to their aid came Gruffydd ap Rhys, Rhys ap Howel, and Madog ap Idnerth and the sons of Howel ; and all these came with great power to Aber Teivy. And to resist them came Stephen the constable and the sons of Gerald, and all the Normans from the Severn to St. Davids, and the Flemings from Rhos. And after a battle before the castle the French and Flemings were forced to take flight, and were slain and burnt, trampled beneath the hoofs of the horses, were drowned in the river, and the Welsh led many away into miserable captivity.

## § 2. *The Story of Gwenllian*

1136. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, I. ix (Hoare's translation).

**I**N this district,<sup>1</sup> after the death of King Henry, whilst Gruffydd, son of Rhys, the Prince of South Wales, was engaged in soliciting assistance from North Wales, his wife Gwenllian<sup>2</sup> (like the Queen of the Amazons and a second Penthesilea) led an army into these parts ; but she was defeated by Maurice de Londres,<sup>3</sup> lord of that country, and Geoffrey, the bishop's constable. Morgan, one of her sons, whom she had arrogantly brought with her in that expedition, was slain, and the other, Malgo,<sup>4</sup> taken prisoner ; and she, with many of her followers, was put to death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kidwelly.

<sup>2</sup> Gwenllian, wife of Gruffydd ap Rhys, was daughter of Gruffydd ap Cynan and sister of Owain Gwynedd.

<sup>3</sup> Lord of Kidwelly and the surrounding district and of Ogmore in Glamorgan.

<sup>4</sup> Maelgwn. Gwenllian had four sons, Maredudd, Rhys, Morgan, and Maelgwn. Rhys lived long and is well known as the Lord Rhys.

<sup>5</sup> The site of this battle is shown in a field belonging to a farm which bears the name Maes Gwenllian to this day.

### § 3. *Battle between Swansea and Loughor*

1136.

*Gesta Stephani*, Book I (Forester's translation).

**W**ALES is a woody and pastoral country, running parallel with the borders of England on the one side, and bounded by the sea through its whole extent on the other. It is stocked with game and fish, and feeds large herds of milch-kine and beasts of burthen. The men it rears are half-savage, swift of foot, accustomed to war, always ready to shift both their habitations and their allegiance. When the Normans had conquered England, they established their power in the country bordering on their territories by erecting numerous castles. Reducing the natives to subjection and settling colonies of their own followers, they introduced laws and courts of justice to promote order, and the country became so fruitful and abounding in plenty, that it might be considered not inferior to the most fertile part of Britain. But on King Henry's death, when the peace and concord of the kingdom was buried with him, the Welsh, who always sighed for deadly revenge against their masters, threw off the yoke which had been imposed on them by treaties, and, issuing in bands from all parts of the country, made hostile inroads in different quarters, laying waste the towns with robbery, fire, and sword, destroying houses and butchering the population. The first object of their attack was the district of Gower on the sea-coast, a fine and abundantly fruitful country, and hemming in with their levies on foot the knights and men at arms, who, to the number of 516, were collected in one body, they put them all to the sword. After which, exulting in the success of their first undertaking, they overran all the borders of Wales, bent on every sort of mischief, ready for every crime, neither sparing age nor respecting rank, and suffering neither place nor season to be any protection from their violence. When the king received intelligence of this rebellion he raised, for the purpose of quelling it, a considerable force of cavalry

and archers, whom he took into pay at a great expense, and dispatched them against the insurgents. But of this force, after many of their number were slain fighting gloriously, the rest, shrinking to encounter the ferocious enemy, retreated in disgrace after fruitless toil and expense.<sup>1</sup>

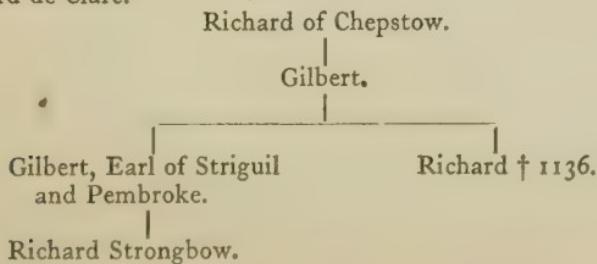
#### § 4. *The Death of Richard Fitz Gilbert, Lord of Ceredigion, 1136*

*Continuation of Florence of Worcester.*

AFTERWARDS the Welsh made a desperate inroad, attended with destruction, far and wide, of churches, vills, corn, and cattle, the burning of castles and other fortified places, and the slaughter, dispersion, and sale into captivity in foreign lands of countless numbers, both of the rich and poor. Among these the noble and amiable Richard, son of Gilbert,<sup>2</sup> falling into an ambush, was slain by the Welsh on the 17th of the calends of May (15th April), and his body being carried to Gloucester was honourably buried in the chapter-house of the brethren. Another bloody battle was afterwards fought at Cardigan,<sup>3</sup> in the second week of the month of October in this same year, in which the slaughter was so great that, without reckoning the men who were carried off into captivity, there remained ten thousand women, whose

<sup>1</sup> This battle took place on New Year's Day, 1136. The leader of the Welsh was Howel ap Meredith. For another account of this raid, see *Florence of Worcester, Continuation.*

<sup>2</sup> Richard de Clare.



<sup>3</sup> At Crugmawr, just outside the town.

husbands, with numberless children, were either drowned or burnt or put to the sword. When the bridge over the Teivy was broken down it was a wretched spectacle to see crowds passing to and fro across a bridge formed by the horrible mass of human corpses and horses drowned in the river.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1143. Anarawd, son of Gruffydd, the hope, the strength, and the glory of the men of South Wales, was killed by the family of Cadwaladr . . . and when his brother Owain heard of it he was sorry ; for he had made a contract to give his daughter to Anarawd. . . . Then Howel and Owain seized Cadwaladr's part of Ceredigion, and burned Cadwaladr's castle at Aberystwyth.<sup>1</sup>

1144. The next year, when Cadwaladr saw that his brother Owain was expelling him from all his lands, he collected a fleet from Ireland and landed at Aber Menai.<sup>2</sup>

## X

### HENRY II AND WALES

In 1154 Henry II became king of England. He was determined to make a repetition of the disorder of Stephen's reign impossible. Seeing that the barons most menacing to the royal power were the Marcher Lords, his policy was to reduce their power. While they were the guardians of the March it was impossible to take away their right of making war, so he had first to crush the Welsh. If the Welsh ceased to be a danger, the Marcher Lordships would cease to be a necessity. Henry, therefore, constantly interfered in the quarrels between the Marcher Lords and the Welsh ; he never lost an opportunity of fostering quarrels among the Welsh, for the more they fought among themselves the weaker they would become, and he

<sup>1</sup> This means that Owain was trying to save the southern alliance by punishing Cadwaladr.

<sup>2</sup> Owain wishing to avoid family strife, his brother and he were reconciled, and Cadwaladr received back all his lands. But ill feeling once kindled is not easily quenched, and henceforth Owain had constant difficulties with Cadwaladr.

tried to crush the independent spirit of the Welsh clergy by making their Church submit to Canterbury.

### § 1. *The Campaigns of Henry II against Wales*

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, II. x (Hoare's translation).

THE following day we traversed a long quick-sand, and not without some degree of apprehension, leaving the woody district of Coleshill,<sup>1</sup> or hill of coal, on our right hand, where Henry II, who in our time, actuated by youthful and indiscreet ardour, made a hostile irruption into Wales,<sup>2</sup> and presuming to pass through that narrow and woody defile, experienced a signal defeat, and a very heavy loss of men. The aforesaid king invaded Wales three<sup>3</sup> times with an army; first, North Wales at the above-mentioned place; secondly, South Wales, by the sea-coast of Glamorgan and Gower, penetrating as far as Caermarthen and Pencader and returning by Ellennith and Melenith; and thirdly, the country of Powys, near Oswestry; but in all these expeditions the king was unsuccessful, because he placed no confidence in the prudent and well-informed barons of the country, but was principally advised by people remote from the Marches and ignorant of the manners and customs of the natives.

### § 2. *The Campaign of 1157*

William of Newburgh, ii, chapter 5.

NOT long afterwards a contention arose between the king and the Welsh—a restless and barbarous people—originating either through his making some unusual exactions, in consequence of his power, or on their insolently denying so great a prince his customary tribute, from too great a confidence in the protection afforded by their woody mountains and valleys; or else from their restlessness and clandestine incursions into the neighbouring confines of the English.

<sup>1</sup> Coleshill, near Holywell, Flintshire.      <sup>2</sup> In 1157.

<sup>3</sup> Henry invaded Wales in 1157, 1158, 1163, and 1165.

Having collected an immense army from every part of England, the king determined to enter Wales, wherever it afforded the easiest access. The Welsh, assembling together, kept watch on the borders, and cautiously avoided descent into the plain, fearing to engage with men in mail, being themselves only lightly armed. They also lay concealed in their forests, and guarded their defiles. . . .

The king, entering their borders after much opposition through the nature and difficulties of the country, met with a very inauspicious commencement of his designs : for a portion of his army, proceeding cautiously through a wooded and marshy district, was much endangered by falling into an ambush, which the enemy laid for him on his route, and where Eustace Fitz John, a great and aged person highly renowned for wealth and wisdom, among the noblest barons in England, together with Robert de Courci, a man of equal rank, and many others unfortunately perished. Those who had escaped the danger, supposing the king had fallen among the rest (though by the favour of God he had forced his way through and was now in safety), reported his death to the troops, as they approached, and hastening to the defile, induced a large portion of the army, disheartened at the melancholy report, ingloriously to fly : insomuch that Henry of Essex, a man of the highest distinction, and hereditary standard-bearer to the king, throwing down the royal banner, by which the army was to be encouraged, took to flight, and told all he met that the king was dead. For this misconduct he was afterwards publicly branded with treachery by a certain nobleman, and, by the king's command, compelled to single combat with his accuser, and was vanquished by him. The king, however, mercifully rescued him from death, ordered him to become a monk at Reading, and enriched his exchequer with his ample fortune.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Cron. Jesslin de Brakelond* for a fuller account of Henry of Essex, his flight and punishment (pp. 103-4, King's Classics edition).

When the king, therefore, rapidly hastening to the spot, had gladdened the astonished army by his presence, the disordered troops, recovering their strength and spirits, joined the ranks, and for the future proceeded more cautiously against the wiles of the enemy ; but when the king deemed it proper to attack the Welsh by sea also and ordered a large fleet to be prepared, the ambassadors of the enemy approached with overtures for peace, and shortly afterwards their princes suppliantly attended him. On their resigning to him some of the fortresses on their frontiers, to conciliate the favour of so great a prince, and doing him homage with an oath, the calm of peace gratefully smiled, after the clouds of war had subsided ; so the army returned home with joy, and the king betook himself to other concerns or amusements.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. *The Story of Ifor Bach*

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, I. vi.

**A**N extraordinary circumstance occurred at the Castle of Cardiff. William, Earl of Gloucester, son of Earl Robert,<sup>2</sup> who, besides that castle, possessed by hereditary right all the province of Gwladvorgan, that is, the land of Morgan, had a dispute with one of his dependents, whose name was Ivor the Little,<sup>3</sup> being a man of short stature but of good courage. This man was, after the manner of the Welsh, owner of a tract of mountainous and woody country, of the whole or a part

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 1158 ; *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 1156.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, *The Land of Morgan*.

Robert Fitz Hamon = Sybil, d. of Roger of Montgomery and conqueror of Glamorgan † 1107. | sister of Robert of Bellême.

Mabel = Robert, illegitimate son of Henry I,  
cr. Earl of Gloucester, † 1147.

William, Earl of Gloucester.

<sup>3</sup> Ivor Bach or Ivor ap Meurig was brother-in-law of Rhys ap Gruffydd, whose sister, Nest, he had married. He held the high land to the north of the hill where Castell Coch now stands—in fact that fortress was probably built as a consequence of the daring raid related by Giraldus.

of which the earl endeavoured to deprive him. At that time the castle of Cardiff was surrounded with high walls, guarded by one hundred and twenty men-at-arms, a numerous body of archers, and a strong watch. The city also contained many stipendiary soldiers ; yet in defiance of all these precautions of security, Ivor, in the dead of night, secretly scaled the walls, and seizing the Count and Countess, with their only son, carried them off to the woods, and did not release them until he had recovered everything that had been unjustly taken from him and received a compensation of additional property.

#### § 4. *Henry's Expedition of 1163*

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, I. vi.

IN the neighbourhood of Newport, which is in the district of Gwentluc,<sup>1</sup> there is a small stream called Nant Pencarn,<sup>2</sup> passable only at certain fords, not so much owing to the depths of its waters as to the hollowness of its channel and muddy bottom. The public road led formerly to a ford, called Rhyd Pencarn, that is, the ford under the head of a rock, from Rhyd, which in the British language signifies a ford, Pen, the head, and Carn, a rock ; of which place Merlin Sylvester had thus prophesied : ‘ Whenever you shall see a mighty prince with a freckled face, make an hostile irruption into the southern part of Britain, should he cross the ford of Pencarn, then, know ye, that the force of Cambria shall be brought low.’ Now it came to pass in our times, that King Henry II took up arms against Rhys, the son of Gruffydd, and directed his march through the southern parts of Wales towards Caermarthen. On the day he intended to pass Nant Pencarn the old Britons of the neighbourhood watched his approach

<sup>1</sup> The flat, low-lying, marshy ground between Newport and the Severn river.

<sup>2</sup> According to Hoare’s notes to the *Itinerary*, this brook is now the Ebwy, which the old road between Newport and Cardiff crossed by a ford about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Newport.

towards the ford with the utmost solicitude ; knowing, since he was both mighty and freckled, that if passage of the destined ford was accomplished, the prophecy concerning him would undoubtedly be fulfilled. When the king had followed the road leading to a more modern ford of the river (the old one spoken of in the prophecy having been for a long time disused), and was preparing to pass over, the pipers and trumpeters . . . began to sound their instruments on the opposite bank, in honour of the king. The king's horse, startled at the wild, unusual noise, refused to obey the spur and enter the water ; upon which, the king, gathering up the reins, hastened in violent wrath to the ancient ford, which he rapidly passed ; and the Britons returned to their homes alarmed and dismayed at the destruction which seemed to await them.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

In the same year King Henry moved an army against South Wales ; and he came to Pencader ; and after Rhys had delivered hostages to him, he returned to England.

*§ 5. Henry's Expedition of 1165*

## 1164.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**W**HEN Rhys, son of Gruffydd, saw that the king fulfilled nothing of what he had promised, and that he could not thus submit honourably, he manfully entered the territory of Roger, Earl of Clare, the man on whose account his nephew Einon, son of Anarawd,<sup>1</sup> had been slain ; and dismantled and burned the castle of Aber Rheidiol,<sup>2</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Einon, son of Anarawd, had been treacherously slain while he slept by Walter ap Llywarda, during the enforced absence of Rhys ap Gruffydd in England, whither he had accompanied the King after the expedition of 1163. Earl Roger had sheltered the murderer.

<sup>2</sup> Aberystwyth, which stands at the mouths of the Ystwyth and the Rheidiol.

castle of Mabwnion,<sup>1</sup> and reconquered a second time the whole of Ceredigion, iterating slaughters and conflagrations among the Flemings, and taking from them many spoils. And after that, all the Welsh combined to expel the garrison of the French altogether.

1165. The ensuing year, David, son of Owain Gwynedd, ravaged Tegeingl, and removed the people with their cattle, along with him into the vale of Clwyd, from all the country except Basingwerk, the house which his father had founded. And when the king supposed there would be an attack made upon the castle which was in Tegeingl, he moved an army with extreme haste, and came to Rhuddlan, and purposed to erect a castle there, and encamped there three nights. After that he returned into England, and collected a vast army of the choice warriors of England, Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, Gascony, and all North Britain, and came to Oswestry, purposing to carry off and destroy the whole of the Britons. And against him there came Owain Gwynedd and Cadwalader, the sons of Gruffydd ap Cynan, and the whole force of Gwynedd with them ; also the Lord Rhys, son of Gruffydd, accompanied by the whole of South Wales ; and Owain Cyfeiliog and Iorwerth the Red, son of Maredudd, accompanied by the whole of Powys ; also the two sons of Madog son of Idnerth,<sup>2</sup> and their whole country with them. And together, united and undaunted; they came into Edeyrnion and encamped at Corwen. And after remaining there long in their tents, without one daring to attack the other, the king became extremely enraged, and moved his army into the woods of the vale of Ceiriog, and ordered the woods to be cut and cleared.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mabwnion is the name of an old commote between Lampeter and Aberaeron.

<sup>2</sup> These were Cadwallon ap Madog and Einon Clud, whose lands were in the district Rhwng Gwy a Hafren—between Wye and Severn.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Lloyd says this was probably at Tregeiriog, and not at the place near Chirk Castle where tradition locates it.

And there a few chosen Welshmen came bravely to oppose him, who knew not what it was to be restrained in the absence of the princes ; and many of the mightiest fell on both sides. And from thence the king led his army into the mountain of Berwyn, and there the king encamped with his advanced troops. . . . And after remaining there a few days he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest of the sky, and extraordinary torrents of rain. And when provisions had failed him, he removed his army to the open plains of England ; and, full of extreme rage, he ordered the hostages who had been previously long imprisoned by him, to be blinded ; to wit, the two sons of Owain Gwynedd, Cadwallon and Cynvrig, and Howel, and Maredudd, son of the Lord Rhys,<sup>1</sup> and many others.

After taking council he removed his army to Chester, and there he encamped many days, until there came ships from Dublin, and other cities of Ireland, to him. And when he found the number of ships insufficient for him, he gave presents to the ships of Dublin, and discharged them ; and himself and his army returned to England.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary*, II. xii.

Here, King Henry II entered Powys,<sup>2</sup> in our days, upon an expensive though fruitless expedition. Having dismembered the hostages whom he had previously received, he was compelled, by a sudden and violent fall of rain, to retreat with his army. On the preceding day, the chiefs of the English army had burned some of the Welsh churches, with the villages and churchyards ; upon which the sons of Owain the Great, with their light-armed troops, stirred up the resentment of their father and the other princes of the country, declaring that they would never in future spare any churches of the English. When nearly the whole army was on the point of assenting to

<sup>1</sup> The name, 'The Lord Rhys', 'Yr Arglwydd Rhys', was first used by the chroniclers when writing of the year 1165, but the title was apparently due to the position of 'justice' which he held under Henry II from 1172.

<sup>2</sup> Oswestry.

this determination, Owain, a man of distinguished wisdom and moderation—the tumult being in some degree subsided—thus spake : ‘ My opinion, indeed, by no means agrees with yours, for we ought to rejoice at this conduct of our adversary, for, unless supported by divine assistance, we are far inferior to the English ; and they, by their behaviour, have made God their enemy, who is able most powerfully to avenge both himself and us. We therefore most devoutly promise God that we will henceforth pay greater reverence than ever to churches and holy places.’ After which the English army, on the following night, experienced (as has before been related) the divine vengeance.<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. *Rhys ap Gruffydd*

1166.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Conquest of Ireland*, I. i.

**D**ERMOT MACMURROUGH, Prince of the men of Leinster, finding that his resources were falling away upon every side . . . and that his position was becoming desperate, . . . at length, resolved, as his last chance of safety, to take ship and flee beyond the sea. He came to Henry II, king of the English, for the purpose of earnestly imploring aid.<sup>2</sup>

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Conquest of Ireland*, I. ii.

1167. At last Richard, Earl of Strigul, came to treat with him ; when after a lengthy conference it was agreed that the earl on his part should in the coming spring assist him to regain his own, while Dermot pledged himself faithfully to

<sup>1</sup> After this Henry II gave up the attempt to conquer Wales. His decision was due partly to his want of success, partly to his wars in France, and partly to the difficulties caused by the death of Becket. His change of policy was shown by the creation of the office of Justice of South Wales, which he gave to Rhys ap Gruffydd in 1172. Having failed to subdue Rhys or South Wales, he set the one to rule the other.

<sup>2</sup> Henry was occupied in the war in France, and therefore could not go to help Dermot himself, but gave him Letters Patent authorizing him to get help from any of his barons.

give his eldest daughter to the earl as wife together with the accession to his kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

*Gervase of Canterbury.*

1171. But finding it impossible to prevail over soldiers who, though fewer in numbers than themselves, were braver and more skilful, they (the Irish) sent ambassadors to the King of England to pray him to come to Ireland, and by taking over the lordships of the country himself to relieve them from the insolence and tyranny of Earl Richard.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Conquest of Ireland*, I. xxviii.

1171. The king set out along the coast road leading to St. Davids, and reaching Pembrokeshire soon got together a gallant fleet at Milford Haven.<sup>2</sup>

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

In that interval the king became alarmed at the apostolical excommunication and left the French territories, and returned to England, giving out that he would go and subdue Ireland. Accordingly, he convoked to him all the princes of England and Wales. And then the Lord Rhys came to him . . . at Llwyn Danet,<sup>3</sup> about the feast on which was born the Lady Mary. And he entered into friendship with the king, by promising him three hundred horses and four thousand oxen, with twenty-four hostages. . . . Then the king proceeded with a vast army into Pembroke, on the 11th day of the Calends of October, and gave the Lord Rhys Ceredigion and the Vale of

<sup>1</sup> This is important in South Wales history, for Strongbow, the Fitzgeralds, and many other Anglo-Norman lords from Dyfed went over to Ireland, 1169-70, and so left Rhys ap Gruffydd free to establish his power in the south.

<sup>2</sup> Becket had been murdered on the 29th December 1170. The pope and the king of France were making things unpleasant for Henry II, therefore he was not sorry to go to so remote a district as Ireland. He was also jealously alarmed at the success of Strongbow, and therefore was inclined to make a friendly agreement with the Welsh in the south-west. All this was a great help to Rhys ap Gruffydd.

<sup>3</sup> Forest of Dean (Lloyd). The meeting was at Newnham on Severn.

Tywi, and Ystiwyr and Eusevye.<sup>1</sup> . . . And then Rhys went from the castle of Aberteifi<sup>2</sup> to the coast of Pembroke to speak to the king, on the twelfth day of the calends of October, and that day was a Saturday. And Rhys ordered the horses which he had promised to the king to be collected at Aberteifi, to be in readiness to be sent to the king. And having come to the White House,<sup>3</sup> he heard that the king had gone to Menevia,<sup>4</sup> on a pilgrimage; and in Menevia the king made an offering of two choral caps of velvet, intended for singers in serving God and St. David; and he also offered a handfull of silver, about ten shillings. Then David, son of Gerald,<sup>5</sup> who at the time was Bishop of Menevia, besought the king to eat with him on that day; but the king declined the invitation, in order to avoid an excess of expense to the bishop. Nevertheless he came to the bishop to dinner, attended by three hundred men, and Earl Richard, a man who came from Ireland to obtain the friendship of the king, for without the consent of the king had he come from Ireland; and many others also dined there standing.<sup>6</sup> Shortly after dinner the king mounted his horse; and there was heavy rain on that day, which was Michaelmas Day; and he returned to Pembroke. When Rhys heard of this, he sent the horses to the king beforehand, that he might go to the king after he had received the horses. And on the horses being brought to the king he took thirty-six that he selected, saying that it was not from want of them they were accepted, but to express his thanks to Rhys more than before. And after having thus pleased the king, Rhys repaired to him, and obtained grace before the king; and the king released his son Howel, who had been long before with him in England as hostage; and the king granted him time in

<sup>1</sup> Ystlwys or Oisterlaph and Velfrey, two commotes of Dyved.

<sup>2</sup> Cardigan.      <sup>3</sup> Ty Gwyn or Daf—Whitland.

<sup>4</sup> St. Davids.

<sup>5</sup> David Fitz Gerald, uncle of Giraldus Cambrensis.

<sup>6</sup> Evidently because there was such a crowd that there was no place for all to sit.

respect of the other hostages, whom Rhys was bound to deliver to the king ; and also in respect of the tribute that has been mentioned before, until the king should come from Ireland.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1172. And then, without delay, the king proceeded to France, after appointing the Lord Rhys to be justice over the whole of South Wales.

1173. At that time<sup>1</sup> Rhys ap Gruffydd sent his son Howel to the old king beyond the sea, with the intention of abiding at the court and serving the king, so as to merit his favour if he should live, and that the king might confide in Rhys if he should live. The king received the son honourably and was extremely thankful to Rhys.<sup>2</sup>

### § 7. Welsh Soldiers in Henry's French Wars

1188. *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 7409-44.

**W**HILST negotiations for peace were proceeding<sup>3</sup> a knight of the French army most discourteously began to make outrageous fun of the Welsh in Henry's army. The Welsh were deeply affronted and a quarrel arose between them and the French. During the dispute a hotheaded Welshman seized an arrow and shot the knight in the head. The Frenchman felt much aggrieved because what he had meant as a jest had been taken as an insult, so, without drawing the arrow from his head, he went straight to the King of France to complain. 'Sire,' he said, 'in spite of the truce of God made between you and your enemy, a man of the King of England's, despising you and your army, has treated me thus.'

When the King of France heard what had happened he

<sup>1</sup> During the rebellion of the young King Henry against his father.

<sup>2</sup> Henry II and his sons frequently used Welsh soldiers in their French wars, as the two next extracts will show.

<sup>3</sup> Henry II and Philip Augustus met at Gisors in August 1188, but could not come to terms.

burst out in angry pride, ‘ Ah ! Is this how they seek peace ? By the eyes of God I need stay here no longer.’ Then he turned away as angry as man could be and withdrew his forces to Chaumont. But next day he came back in battle array with his earls, his barons, and his viscounts, together with the men sent by his communes, who swelled his army even though no one thought much of them as fighters.

*§ 8. Manners of the Welsh described by  
Guillaume le Breton*

*Philippidos*, Book V, lines 276–306.

**S**TRAIGHTWAY he<sup>1</sup> summons a great Welsh army from the furthest territories of the English, so that they may overrun the wooded country and with fire and sword, in their native fury, lay waste the confines of our realm. The Welsh race has this characteristic throughout all its members, which it preserves peculiarly from early times : it resorts to the woods for homes and to war for peace. Easily angered, skilful in marching through intricate ways, the Welsh are not hampered by sandals for their feet nor by leggings ; taught to endure cold, never inclined to give up toil ; wearing a short tunic, they do not weigh down their body by armour, nor do they protect their side with a corslet nor their brow with a helmet. They carry as sole weapons with which to bring death to the foe a pike, hunting spears, javelins, battle-axe, a bow and quiver of arrows, and a spiked weapon or lance. Rejoicing, as they do, in constant plunder and in bloodshed, it rarely happens that any of them die except through wounds ; if any one can cast it up to a Welshman that a kinsman of his died without killing any man, he thinks it the greatest dis-honour.

<sup>1</sup> Richard I. About 1196 Richard and Philip of France were struggling for the possession of Andeli, on the borders between Norman and French lands. Richard brought over Welsh auxiliaries, who were defeated and cut to pieces by Philip. It was in revenge for this that Richard flung three

It is thought that delicious dishes for fighting men are cheese and butter with half cooked flesh which they often eat after only squeezing the blood out by pressing the meat in the cleft trunk of a tree;<sup>1</sup> these things take the place of bread, and a milky liquid the place of wine.

Raiding our lands whose gates lay everywhere open to them, these savages slaughtered pitilessly young and old, parents and children alike, until the army of Andeli so hedged them into the mouth of the valley, having previously skilfully disposed its bands in front and rear, that one glorious day saw three thousand four hundred men meet their death.

## XI

LIFE IN WALES IN THE TWELFTH  
CENTURY

## A. GENERAL

§ I. *Wales and its People*

Chapter i.

Extracts from *The Description of Wales*, Giraldus  
Cambrensis, Hoare's translation.

**WALES** was in ancient times divided into three parts nearly equal, consideration having been paid more to the value than to the exact quantity or proportion of territory. They were Venedotia (Gwynedd, now called North Wales); Demetia, or South Wales, which in Welsh is called Deheubarth, that is, the southern part; and Powys, the middle or eastern district. Roderic the Great, or Rhodri Maur, who was King of all Wales, was the cause of this division. He had three French prisoners from the top of the rock of Andeli into the valley below. In spite of temporary setbacks, Richard secured Andeli, where he built his 'Saucy Castle'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macaulay's account of the food of the Highlanders in the seventeenth century (*Hist. of Eng.*, chap. xiii); also Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* iii. 1621, where the account of the Irish about 1603 is very similar.

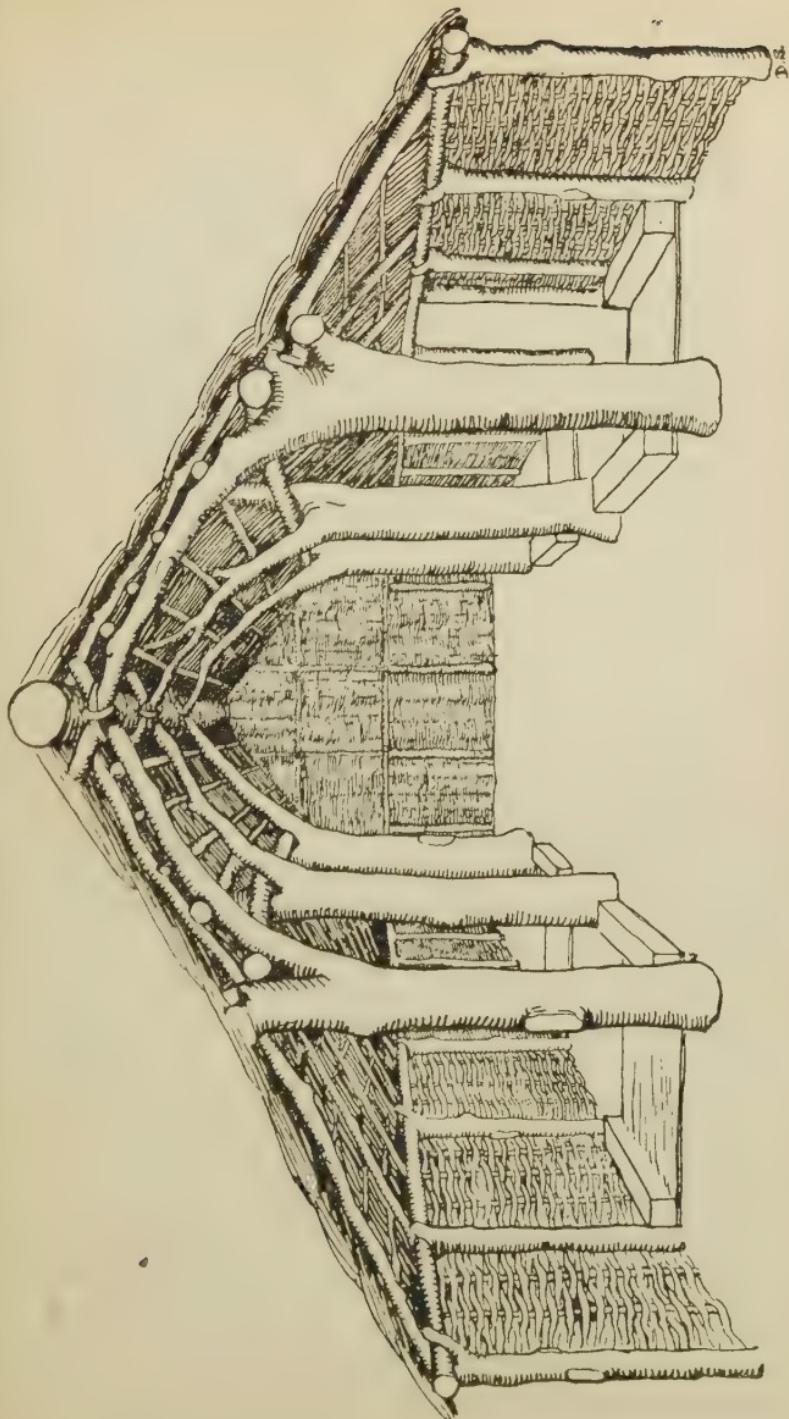
sons, Mervin, Anarawt, and Cadell, among whom he partitioned the whole principality. North Wales fell to the lot of Mervin, Powys to Anarawt, and Cadell received the portion of South Wales, together with the general good wishes of his brothers and the people, for although this district greatly exceeded the others in quantity, it was the least desirable from the number of noble chiefs, or Uchelwyr, men of superior rank, who inhabited it, and were often rebellious to their lords, and impatient of control. . . .

Chapter vi. As the southern part of Wales near Cardigan, but particularly Pembroke, is much pleasanter, on account of its plains and sea-coast, so North Wales is better defended by nature, is more productive of men distinguished for bodily strength, and more fertile in the nature of its soil; for as the mountains of Eryri (Snowdon) could supply pasture for all the herds of cattle in Wales, if collected together, so could the Isle of Mona (Anglesey) provide a requisite quantity of corn for all the inhabitants, on which account there is an old Welsh proverb, ‘Mon mam Cymbr’, that is, ‘Mona is the mother of Wales’. Merioneth, and the land of Conan, is the rudest and least cultivated region, and the least accessible. The natives in that part of Wales excel in the use of long lances, as those of Monmouthshire are distinguished for their management of the bow. It is to be observed that the Welsh language is more delicate and richer in North Wales, that country being less intermixed with foreigners. Many, however, assert that the language of Cardigan, in South Wales, placed as it were in the middle and heart of Cambria, is the most refined.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter viii. This people is light and active, hardy rather than strong, and entirely bred to the use of arms; for not only the nobles, but all the people are trained to war,<sup>2</sup> and when the trumpet sounds the alarm, the husbandman rushes

<sup>1</sup> Notice how old our local quarrels and rivalries are.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast this with England where, until the Statute of Winchester, 1285, only freemen were allowed to have arms.



WELSH TRIBAL HOUSE

as eagerly from his plough as the courtier from his court, . . . for in the months of March and April only the soil is once ploughed for oats, and again in the summer a third time, and in winter for wheat. Almost all the people live upon the produce of their herds, with oats, milk, cheese, and butter, eating flesh in larger proportion than bread.<sup>1</sup> They pay no attention to commerce, shipping, or manufactures, and suffer no interruption but by martial exercises. They anxiously study the defence of their country and their liberty; for these they fight, for these they undergo hardships, and for these they willingly sacrifice their lives; they esteem it a disgrace to die in bed, an honour to die in the field of battle. . . . It is remarkable that this people, though unarmed, dares attack an armed foe; the infantry defy the cavalry, and by their activity and courage generally prove victors. . . . They make use of light arms which do not impede their agility, small coats of mail, bundles of arrows, and long lances, helmets and shields, and more rarely greaves plated with iron. The higher class go to battle mounted on swift and generous steeds, which their country produces; but the greater part of the people fight on foot, on account of the marshy nature and unevenness of the soil. The horsemen, as their situation or occasion requires, willingly serve as infantry, in attacking or retreating, and they either walk barefooted, or make use of high shoes, roughly constructed with untanned leather. . . .

Chapter ix. Not addicted to gluttony or drunkenness, this people who incur no expense in food or dress, and whose minds are always bent upon the defence of their country and the means of plunder, are wholly employed in the care of their horses and furniture. Accustomed to fast from morning to evening . . . they dedicate the whole day to business, and in the evening partake of a moderate meal, and even if they

<sup>1</sup> When Simon de Montfort marched through Wales with his army in 1265 his men complained because they could not get bread to eat with their meat.

have none, or only a very scanty one, they patiently wait till the next evening. . . .

Chapter x. No one of this nation ever begs, for the houses of all are common to all, and they consider liberality and hospitality amongst the first virtues. . . . Hospitality . . . is neither offered nor requested by travellers, who, on entering any house, only deliver up their arms. When water is offered to them, if they suffer their feet to be washed, they are received as guests, . . . but if they refuse the proffered service, they only wish for morning refreshment, not lodging. . . . Those who arrive in the morning are entertained till evening with the conversation of young women and the music of the harp, for each house has its young women and harps allotted to this purpose. . . . In the evening, when no more guests are expected, the meal is prepared according to the number and dignity of the persons assembled, and according to the wealth of the family which entertains. The kitchen does not supply many dishes ; no high-seasoned incitement to eating. The house is not furnished with tables, cloths, or napkins. . . . The guests being seated in threes, instead of in couples as elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> they place the dishes before them upon rushes and fresh grass, in large platters or trenchers. They also make use of a thin and broad cake of bread, baked every day,<sup>2</sup> . . . and they sometimes add chopped meats with broth. While the family is engaged in waiting on the guests, the host and hostess stand up, paying unremitting attention to everything, and take no food till all the company are satisfied,<sup>3</sup> that in case of any deficiency it may fall upon them. A bed made of rushes, and covered with a coarse kind of cloth manufactured in the

<sup>1</sup> It was the custom in the Middle Ages to place guests in couples or in groups of three or four. Each group was a *mess*, and each mess ate out of one platter.

<sup>2</sup> This bread would be either *bara ceirch* (oat bread) or *bara planc*, bread baked on a griddle. Both kinds are made in Wales to this day.

<sup>3</sup> I have seen this done in North Pembrokeshire.

country, called brychan,<sup>1</sup> is then placed along the side of the room, and they all in common lie down to sleep ; nor is their dress at night different from that by day, for at all seasons they defend themselves from the cold only by a thin cloak and tunic. The fire continues to burn by night as well as by day, at their feet, and they receive much comfort from the natural heat of the persons lying near them ; but when the underside begins to be tired with the hardness of the bed, or the upper one to suffer from cold, they immediately leap up and go to the fire, which soon relieves them from both inconveniences, and then returning to their couch, they expose alternately their sides to the cold, and to the hardness of the bed.

Chapter xi. The men and the women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes. The women . . . cover their heads with a large white veil, folded together in the form of a crown. Both sexes exceed any other nation in attention to their teeth, which they render like ivory, by constantly rubbing them with green hazel and wiping with a woollen cloth.

Chapter xii. These people being of a sharp and acute intellect, and gifted with a rich and powerful understanding, excel in whatever studies they pursue, and are more quick and cunning than the other inhabitants of a western clime.

Their musical instruments charm and delight the ear with their sweetness. . . . They make use of three instruments, the harp, the pipe, and the crwth or crowd.<sup>2</sup> . . . In their rhymed songs and set speeches they are so subtle and ingenious that they produce, in their native tongue, ornaments of wonderful and exquisite invention, both in the words and sentences.

<sup>1</sup> A blanket.

<sup>2</sup> *Crwth*, an old instrument generally supposed to have been the origin of the fiddle. Cf. Old English *crouder* = fiddler : ‘ Yet is it sung by some blinde crouder, with no rougher voice than rude style ’ (Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*). Cf. Wycliffe’s Bible, Luke xv. 25 : ‘ But his eldere sone was in the field ; and whanne he cam and neized to the hous, he herde a symfone and a croude.’

Hence arise the poets whom they call Bards, of whom you will find many in this nation endowed with the above faculty. . . . But they make use of alliteration in preference to all the other ornaments of rhetoric, and that particular kind which joins by consonancy the first letters or syllables of the words.

Chapter xiii. In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts, so that in a company of singers, which one very frequently meets with in Wales, you will hear as many different parts and voices as there are performers, who at length unite, with organic melody, in one consonance and the soft sweetness of B flat. In the northern districts of Britain, beyond the Humber and on the border of Yorkshire, the inhabitants make use of the same sort of symphonious harmony, but with less variety, sing only in two parts, one murmuring in the bass, the other warbling in the treble.

Chapter xiv. The heads of different families, in order to excite the laughter of their guests and gain credit by their sayings, make use of a great facetiousness in their conversation, at one time uttering their jokes in a light, easy manner, at another time, under the disguise of equivocation, passing the severest censures.

Chapter xv. Nature hath given not only to the highest, but also to the inferior classes of people of this nation, a boldness and a confidence in speaking and answering even in the presence of their princes and chieftains.

Chapter xvii. The Welsh esteem noble birth and generous descent above all things,<sup>1</sup> and are therefore more desirous of marrying into noble and rich families. Even the common people retain their genealogy and can not only readily recount

<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to preserve genealogies carefully in a primitive state where (i) a man was only acknowledged as a free-born native if he could show his descent for nine generations ; (ii) a man only held land if he could show his family and descent ; (iii) the whole law depended on family responsibility, &c.

the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation, or beyond them, in this manner : Rhys son of Gruffydd, son of Rhys, son of Tewdwr, son of Eineon, son of Owen, son of Howel, son of Cadell, son of Roderic Mawr, and so on. Being particularly attached to family descent, they revenge with vehemence the injuries which may tend to disgrace their blood, and being naturally of a vindictive and passionate disposition, they are ever ready to avenge not only recent but ancient affronts ; they neither inhabit towns, villages, nor castles, but lead a solitary life in the woods, on the borders of which they do not erect sumptuous palaces, nor lofty stone buildings, but content themselves with small huts made of the boughs of trees twisted together, constructed with little labour and expense, and sufficient to endure throughout the year. They have neither orchards nor gardens, but gladly eat the fruit of both when given them. The greater part of their land is laid down to pasturage ; little is cultivated, a very small quantity is ornamented with flowers, and a still smaller is sown. They seldom yoke less than four oxen to the plough ; the driver walks before, but backwards, and when he falls down is frequently exposed to danger from the refractory oxen. Instead of small sickles in mowing, they make use of a moderate sized piece of iron formed like a knife, with two pieces of wood fixed loosely and flexibly to the head. . . . The boats which they employ in fishing or in crossing the rivers are made of twigs,<sup>1</sup> not oblong nor pointed, but almost round, or rather triangular, covered both within and without with raw hides. When a salmon thrown into one of these boats strikes it hard with its tail, he often overturns it and endangers both the vessel and its navigator. The fishermen going to and from the rivers carry these boats on their shoulders.

Chapter xviii. Hermits and anchorites more strictly abstinent

<sup>1</sup> The boats described by Gerald are, of course, the coracles which are still used by the fishermen of the Towy, Teivy, and other Welsh rivers.

and more spiritual can nowhere be found, for this nation is earnest in all its pursuits, and neither worse men than the bad, nor better than the good, can be met with. Happy and fortunate indeed would this nation be, nay, completely blessed, if it had good prelates and pastors and but one prince, and that prince a good one.

## § 2. *Faults of the Welsh*

Chapter i.

Gathered from Book II of Giraldus's  
*Description of Wales*.

THESE people are no less light in mind than in body, and are by no means to be relied upon. They are easily urged to take any action, and are as easily checked from prosecuting it—a people quick in action, but more stubborn in a bad than in a good cause, constant only in inconstancy. They pay no respect to oaths, faith, or truth. . . . They never scruple at taking a false oath for the sake of any temporary emolument or advantage, so that in civil and ecclesiastical cases each party is ready to swear whatever seems expedient to its purpose. . . .

Chapter ii. This nation conceives it right to commit acts of plunder, theft, and robbery, not only against foreigners and hostile nations, but even against their own countrymen. When an opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage occurs, they respect not the leagues of peace and friendship, preferring base lucre to the solemn obligations of oaths and good faith.

Chapter iii. In war this nation is very severe in the first attack, terrible by their clamour and looks, filling the air with horrid shouts and the deep-toned clangour of very long trumpets, swift and rapid in their advances and frequent throwing of darts. Bold in the first onset, they cannot bear a repulse, being easily thrown into confusion as soon as they turn their backs, and they trust to flight for safety, without attempting to rally. . . . Their mode of fighting consists in

chasing the enemy or in retreating. This light-armed people, relying more on their activity than on their strength, cannot struggle for the field of battle, enter into close engagement, or endure long and severe actions. . . . Though defeated and put to flight on one day, they are ready to resume the combat on the next, neither dejected by their loss nor by their dis-honour, and although perhaps they do not display great fortitude in open engagements and regular conflicts, yet they harass the enemy by ambuscades and nightly sallies. Hence, neither oppressed by hunger or cold, nor fatigued by martial labours, nor despondent in adversity, but ready, after a defeat, to return immediately to action, and again endure the dangers of war, they are as easy to overcome in a single battle, as difficult to subdue in a protracted war.

Chapter iv. This nation is, above all others, addicted to the digging up of boundary ditches, removing the limits, transgressing landmarks, and extending their territory by every possible means. . . . Hence arise suits and contentions, murders and conflagrations and frequent fratricides, increased, perhaps, by the ancient national custom of brothers dividing their pro-perty amongst each other.

Another heavy grievance also prevails: princes entrust the education of their children to the care of the principal men of their country, each of whom, after the death of the father, endeavours to exalt his own foster-child above his neighbours. From which cause great disturbances have frequently arisen amongst brothers, and terminated in the most cruel murders. On this account, friendships are found to be more sincere between foster-brothers than between those connected by the natural ties of brotherhood. It is also remarkable that brothers show more affection to one another when dead than when living, for they persecute the living even unto death, but revenge the dead with all their power. . . .

Chapter x. In what manner this nation may resist and revolt.

Having hitherto so partially and elaborately spoken in favour of the English,<sup>1</sup> and being equally connected by birth with each nation,<sup>2</sup> justice demands that we should argue on both sides ; let us, therefore, turn our attention to the Welsh, and briefly but effectually instruct them in the art of resistance. If the Welsh were more accustomed to the Gallic mode of arming, and depended more on steady fighting than on agility ; if their princes were inseparable in their defence ; or rather, if they had only one prince, and that a good one, this nation, situated in so powerful, strong, and inaccessible a country, could hardly be completely overcome. If, therefore, they would be inseparable they would be insuperable, being assisted by these three circumstances, a country well defended by nature, a people both contented and accustomed to live upon little, a community whose nobles and commons are instructed in the use of arms, and especially as the English fight for power and the Welsh for liberty ; the one to procure gain and the other to avoid loss ; the English hirelings for money, the Welsh patriots for their country. The English, I say, fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the island, . . . but the Welsh maintain the conflict that they, who have so long enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, may at least find a hiding-place in the worst corner of it, amongst woods and marshes, and, banished, as it were, for their offences, may there in a state of poverty perform penance for the excesses they committed in the days of their prosperity. For the perpetual remembrance of their former greatness, the recollection of their Trojan descent,<sup>3</sup> and the high and con-

<sup>1</sup> See Giraldus's *Description of Wales*, Book II, chapter viii, 'In what manner this nation is to be overcome', and chapter ix, 'In what manner, Wales, when conquered, should be governed'.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald's father was Anglo-Norman and his mother was the daughter of the famous Nest, known as the 'Helen of Wales'.

<sup>3</sup> According to the mythological history of Britain, the first king was Brut, son of Sylvius, grandson of Ascanius and great-grandson of Aeneas, the Trojan hero. He was said to have fled to Britain because he had

tinued majesty of the kingdom of Britain, may draw forth many a latent spark of animosity, and encourage the daring spirit of rebellion. Hence during the military expedition which King Henry II made in our days against South Wales,<sup>1</sup> an old Welshman of Pencader, who had faithfully adhered to him, being desired to give his opinion about the royal army, and whether he thought that of the rebels would make resistance, and what would be the final result of the war, replied, ‘This nation, O King, may now, as in former times, be harassed, and in a great measure weakened and destroyed by your and other powers, and it will often prevail by its laudable exertions ; but it can never be totally subdued through the wrath of man, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think that any other nation, but this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may come to pass hereafter, shall in the day of severe examination before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth.’

### § 3. *An Early Eisteddfod, 1176*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

AND the Lord Rhys held a great festival at the castle of Aberteifi,<sup>2</sup> wherein he appointed two sorts of contention, one between the bards and poets, and the other between the harpers, fiddlers, pipers, and various performers of instrumental music, and he assigned two chairs for the victors in the contentions, and these he enriched with vast gifts. A young man of his own court, son of Cibon the fiddler, obtained the victory in instrumental song, and the men of Gwynedd<sup>3</sup> obtained the

nadvertently killed his father. For the whole story, see Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*, Book I, chapters 1 and 16.

<sup>1</sup> Henry II was at Pencader in 1163.

<sup>2</sup> Cardigan, which Rhys had made the centre of his principality, rebuilding the castle after 1171.

<sup>3</sup> This means that Cibon's son won the chair for music, and that the men of Gwynedd won the prizes for verse.

victory in vocal song, and all the other minstrels obtained from the Lord Rhys as much as they asked for, so that there was no one excluded.<sup>1</sup> And that festival was proclaimed a year before it was held throughout Wales and England and Prydyn<sup>2</sup> and Ireland and many other countries.

#### § 4. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND THE CHURCH IN WALES

One of the most interesting aspects of the revival of Welsh national feeling in the twelfth century was the struggle of the Welsh Church for independence from Canterbury. Henry II and his sons recognized that a Church free from the control of an English primate would encourage opposition to the control of an English king. It was therefore their fixed policy never to make a Welshman a bishop, and often, even before giving a Norman a Welsh see, they would force him to submit formally to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Their policy triumphed only after a prolonged struggle. The hero of this struggle was Giraldus Cambrensis, the son of a Welsh mother and a Norman father, very ambitious, very conceited in a delightfully frank way, full of interest in his own life and doings, and, unlike most of his contemporaries, sure that we shall be interested too.

The following passages are taken from his account of his own life.

#### *Giraldus Cambrensis*

*De Rebus a se Gestis.*

GERALD was born<sup>3</sup> in South Wales near the sea-coast of Dyved, at the castle of Manorbier, not far from the chief town of Pembroke. He was born of freeborn parents, for his mother was Angharad, daughter of Nest, the noble daughter of Rhys, Prince of South Wales and son of Tewdwr. She married a most excellent man, William de Barri, and from this marriage Gerald was born. He was the youngest of four brothers. When the three others were engaged in their childish games, building camps or towns or castles in the sand and shingle, he, playing alone in his own way, expended all his power in building churches or monasteries. His father,

<sup>1</sup> An Eisteddfod where all the unsuccessful competitors had consolation prizes!

<sup>2</sup> Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> About 1146.

seeing him thus engaged and wondering about it, was, as it were, inspired with a prophetic soul, and determined that this son must give himself up to literature and the liberal arts. He used to tease him and call him his little bishop. . . .

At three different times he spent several years in studying the liberal arts in Paris, until, becoming as good as the best teachers, he excellently taught the trivium, and was specially commended for his skill in rhetoric. As a pupil he was so thoroughly devoted to his work, showing no levity or vulgarity in his acts or mind, that when the masters of art wished to pick out an example of a good scholar, they would name Gerald before all others. . . .<sup>1</sup>

### § 5. *A Medieval Method of Advertising, c. 1185*

**W**HEN the work<sup>2</sup> was finished, not wishing to hide his light under a bushel, but wishing to place it on a candlestick so that it might give light, he determined to read it publicly before a great audience at Oxford, where in England scholars chiefly congregated and excelled in learning. And as there were three parts to the work and each part took up a whole day, the reading lasted three successive days. On the first day he received and entertained at his lodging all the poor folk of the town, on the second all the doctors of the different faculties and their picked students, and on the third day the remainder of the students and the chief men of the town. It was a costly and noble thing to do, and neither the present nor the past can show any record of such a ceremony.

### § 6. *The Itinerary through Wales*

In 1188 Gerald accompanied Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury on his itinerary through Wales. Baldwin came ostensibly to preach the Crusade, but actually he seems to have had the idea of strengthening his authority over the Welsh Church by celebrating Mass in the

<sup>1</sup> Later Gerald both studied and taught at Oxford, and while there he began to write books.

<sup>2</sup> *Topography of Ireland*.

four cathedrals. Newell says, ‘It is strange that Gerald, who from 1198 to 1204 struggled in vain for the independence of the Welsh Church, had himself ten years earlier helped to put the English chains upon it.’<sup>1</sup>

**I**N the year 1188 from the incarnation of our Lord, Urban III<sup>2</sup> being the head of the apostolic see, Frederick, Emperor and King of the Romans,<sup>3</sup> . . . Philip,<sup>4</sup> the son of Louis reigning in France, Henry II in England, . . . in that very year, when Saladin, Prince of the Egyptians and Damascenes, by a signal victory gained the possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> Baldwin,<sup>6</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury, a venerable man, distinguished for his learning and sanctity, journeying from England for the service of the holy cross, entered Wales near the borders of Herefordshire.

The archbishop proceeded to Radnor on Ash Wednesday, accompanied by Ranulph de Glanville, privy councillor and justiciary of the whole kingdom, and there met Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, and many other noble personages of these parts, where a sermon being preached by the archbishop, upon the subject of the Crusades, and explained to the Welsh by interpretation,<sup>7</sup> the author of this itinerary, impelled by the urgent importunity and promises of the king and the persuasions of the archbishop and the justiciary, arose the first, and falling down at the feet of the holy man,

<sup>1</sup> Newell, *History of the Welsh Church*. Extracts from Gerald's account of the *Itinerary through Wales* (Hoare's translation).

<sup>2</sup> Urban III died in October 1187. Clement III was Pope in 1188.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick I (Barbarossa), 1152-90, was drowned in a river in Cilicia when engaged in the Crusade that Baldwin came to Wales to preach.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Augustus, 1180-1223.

<sup>5</sup> The Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem was captured by the Saracens in 1187.

<sup>6</sup> Baldwin, a Cistercian, who had been Bishop of Worcester, became Bishop of Canterbury, 1184. In March 1190 he left England for the Crusade, and died at Acre in November.

<sup>7</sup> The interpreter was Archdeacon Alexander of Bangor. See Book I, chapter v.

devoutly took the sign of the cross.<sup>1</sup> His example was instantly followed by Peter, Bishop of St. Davids,<sup>2</sup> a monk of the abbey of Cluny, and then by Eineon, son of Eineon Clud,<sup>3</sup> Prince of Elvenia, and many other persons.<sup>4</sup>

Book I, chap. ii. Having crossed the river Wye we proceeded towards Brecknock, and on preaching a sermon at Hay we observed some amongst the multitude who were to be signed with the cross (leaving their garments in the hands of their friends or wives, who endeavoured to keep them back), fly for refuge to the archbishop in the castle. Early in the morning we began our journey to Aberhodni,<sup>5</sup> and the word of the Lord being preached at Llanddew,<sup>6</sup> we there spent the night. . . . The archdeacon of that place<sup>7</sup> presented to the archbishop his work on the Topography of Ireland, which he graciously received, and either read or heard a part of it read attentively every day during his journey, and on his return to England completed the perusal of it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gerald never went on a crusade. He crossed over to France with Archbishop Baldwin in 1189, but when Henry II died Gerald was absolved from his vow in order to go back to help to keep Wales quiet.

<sup>2</sup> Peter de Leia, or Lee, Prior of the Cluniac cell of Wenlock, was Gerald's rival for the bishopric of St. Davids in 1176.

<sup>3</sup> Einion ab Einion Clud of Elfael (Einion or Porth) was son-in-law (or grandson) of Lord Rhys. He patronized Abbey Cwm Hir. He succeeded his father as ruler of Elfael in 1177, and in 1191 'was killed by his brother'.

<sup>4</sup> The tour lasted about seven weeks; the route was as follows: Hereford, Radnor, Brecon, Abergavenny, Caerleon, Newport, Cardiff, Llandaff, Ewenny, Margam, Swansea, Kidwelly, Carmarthen, Haverford, St. Davids, Cardigan, Strata Florida: thence, keeping close to the coast, to Bangor and Chester, then south to Oswestry, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, and so back to Hereford.

<sup>5</sup> Brecon, called Aberhodni (Aberhonddu) by the Welsh, because it is at the junction of the river Hodni and the river Usk.

<sup>6</sup> A village about two miles from Brecon. Gerald tells us in Book I, chapter iii, that he had a house there. <sup>7</sup> Gerald was Archdeacon of Brecon.

<sup>8</sup> A. G. Little, *Medieval Wales*, says: 'As the journey lasted at least fifty days, one may calculate that it took at most an average of three pages a day to send the Archbishop to sleep.'

Book I, chap. iv. A sermon having been delivered at Abergavenny, and many persons converted to the cross, a certain nobleman of these parts, named Arthenus, came to the archbishop . . . and humbly begged pardon for having neglected to meet him sooner. Being questioned whether he would take the cross, he replied, ‘That ought not to be done without the advice of his friends’. The archbishop then asked him, ‘Are you not going to consult your wife?’ to which he modestly answered with a downcast look, ‘When the work of a man is to be undertaken, the counsel of a woman ought not to be asked’, and at once received the cross from the archbishop.

Book I, chap. vii. On the following morning the business of the cross being publicly proclaimed at Llandaff, the English standing on one side, and the Welsh on the other, many persons of each nation took the cross, and we remained there that night with William,<sup>1</sup> bishop of that place, a discreet and good man. . . . The archbishop having celebrated Mass early in the morning, before the high altar of the cathedral, we immediately pursued our journey by the little cell of Ewenny<sup>2</sup> to the noble Cistercian monastery of Margam.<sup>3</sup>

Book I, chap. viii. Continuing our journey, not far from Margam, where the alternative vicissitudes of a sandy shore and the tide commence, we forded the river Avan, having been considerably delayed by the ebbing of the sea, and under the guidance of Morgan, eldest son of Caradoc,<sup>4</sup> proceeded

<sup>1</sup> William de Salso Marisco, Bishop in 1183 (*Liber Landavensis*, Appendix).

<sup>2</sup> ‘In 1141 Maurice of London, Lord of Ogmore and Kidwelly, gave to St. Peter’s, Gloucester, certain churches near the R. Ewenny, with the result that the Priory of that name was founded as a cell of the Great Western Abbey’ (Lloyd).

<sup>3</sup> A Cistercian house founded by Earl Robert of Gloucester in 1147.

<sup>4</sup> Morgan ap Caradog ab Iestyn, Lord of Rhwng Nedd ac Afan, who was prominent among the lesser princes of South Wales in the time of Henry II, was a nephew of Lord Rhys, being son of Rhys’s sister Gwladus.

along the sea-shore towards the river Neath, which, on account of its quicksands, is the most dangerous and inaccessible river in South Wales. A pack-horse belonging to the author, which had proceeded by the lower way near the sea, although in the midst of others, was the only one which sank down into the abyss, but he was, at last, with great difficulty extricated, and not without some damage done to the baggage and the books. Yet, although we had Morgan, the prince of that country, as our conductor, we did not reach the river without great peril and some severe falls, for the alarm caused by this unusual kind of road made us hasten our steps over the quicksands, in opposition to the advice of our guide, and fear quickened our pace, whereas, through these difficult passages, as we there learned, the mode of proceeding should be with moderate speed. But as the fords of that river experience a change by every monthly tide, and cannot be found after violent rains and floods, we did not attempt the fords, but passed the river in a boat, leaving the monastery of Neath<sup>1</sup> on our right hand.... Entering the province of Gower,<sup>2</sup> we spent the night at the castle of Swansea,<sup>3</sup> which in Welsh is called Abertawe, or the fall of the river Tawe into the sea. The next morning, the people being assembled after Mass, and many having been induced to take the cross, an aged man of that district, named Cador, thus addressed the archbishop : ‘ My Lord, if I now enjoyed my former strength, and the vigour of youth, no alms should ransom me, no desire of inactivity restrain me, from engaging in the laudable undertaking you preach ; but since my weak age and the injuries of time deprive me of this desirable benefit (for approaching years bring with them many

<sup>1</sup> Cistercian house, founded by Richard de Grenville in 1130, connected with the Norman house of Savigny.

<sup>2</sup> The district from Loughor on the north to the river Neath on the east, to Swansea on the south, and Worm’s Head on the west.

<sup>3</sup> The castle of Swansea was probably built about 1116 by Henry, Earl of Warwick, to whom Henry I granted Gower.

comforts which those that are passed ~~take away~~), if I cannot, owing to the infirmity of my body, attain a full merit, yet suffer me, by giving a tenth of all I possess, to attain a half.' Then falling down at the feet of the archbishop, he deposited in his hands, for the service of the cross, the tenth of his estate, weeping bitterly, and entreating from him the remission of one-half of the enjoined penance. After a short time he returned, and thus continued : ' My Lord, if the will directs the action, and is itself, for the most part, considered as the act, and as I have a full and firm inclination to undertake this journey, I request a remission of the remaining part of the penance, and in addition to my former gift, I will equal the sum from the residue of my tenths.' The archbishop, smiling at his devout ingenuity, embraced him with admiration.

On the same night, two monks, who waited in the archbishop's chamber, conversing about the occurrences of their journey and the dangers of the road, one of them said (alluding to the wildness of the country), ' This is a hard province ' ; the other (alluding to the quicksands) wittily replied, ' Yet yesterday it was found too soft.'

Book I, chap. x. On our journey from Carmarthen towards the Cistercian monastery called Alba Domus,<sup>1</sup> the archbishop was informed of the murder of a young Welshman, who was devoutly hastening to meet him ; when, turning out of the road, he ordered the corpse to be covered with the cloak of his almoner, and with a pious supplication commended the soul of the murdered youth to heaven. Twelve archers of the neighbouring castle of St. Clears,<sup>2</sup> who had assassinated the

<sup>1</sup> Alba Domus, or Ty Gwyn ar Daf—Whitland. In 1144 the first Cistercian community in Wales was established temporarily at Little Trefgarn, near Haverfordwest. About 1151 it moved to Whitland to lands bestowed on the order by John of Torrington.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing now remains of this castle and little is known of its history. At the time of the *Itinerary* it was evidently held by enemies of the Welsh, but next year it was captured by Lord Rhys and handed over to his son, Howel Sais.

young man, were on the following day signed with the cross at Alba Domus as a punishment for their crime.

Book I, chap. xi. A sermon having been delivered at Haverford by the archbishop, and the word of God preached to the people by the archdeacon whose name appears on the title page of this work, many soldiers and plebeians were induced to take the cross. It appeared wonderful and miraculous, that, although the archdeacon addressed them both in the Latin and French tongues, those persons who understood neither of those languages were equally affected, and flocked in great numbers to the cross.

Book II, chap. vi. . . . We proceeded towards Bangor, passing through Carnarvon. . . . Our road leading us to a steep valley with many broken ascents and descents, we dismounted from our horses and proceeded on foot, rehearsing, as it were, by agreement, some experiments of our intended pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Having traversed the valley and reached the opposite side with considerable fatigue, the archbishop, to rest himself and recover his breath, sat down on an oak which had been torn up by the violence of the winds, and relaxing into a pleasantry highly laudable in a person of his approved gravity, thus addressed his attendants : ‘ Who amongst you, in this company, can now delight our wearied ears by whistling ? ’ —which is not easily done by people out of breath. He affirming that he ‘ could, if he thought fit, the sweet notes are heard, in an adjoining wood, of a bird, which some said was a woodpecker, and others, more correctly, an aureolus.<sup>1</sup> . . . Some persons having remarked that the nightingale was never heard in this country,<sup>2</sup> the archbishop, with a significant smile, replied, ‘ The nightingale followed wise counsel, and never came into Wales ; but we, unwise counsel, who have penetrated and gone through it.’

<sup>1</sup> The Golden Oriole.

<sup>2</sup> Like so many other popular beliefs, this one, that the nightingale is never heard in Wales, is not true.

Book II, chap. xiii. During this long and laudable legation, about three thousand men were signed with the cross ; well skilled in the use of arrows and lances, and versed in military matters ; impatient to attack the enemies of the faith ; profitably and happily engaged for the service of Christ, if the expedition of the Holy Cross had been forwarded with an alacrity equal to the diligence and devotion with which the forces were collected.<sup>1</sup>

When Peter de Leia died in 1199, the canons of St. Davids, without waiting for the king's permission and in opposition to the wish of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, elected Gerald as his successor.

Hubert Walter was determined that Gerald should not be Bishop of St. Davids, for Gerald, backed by many of the princes, claimed that originally St. Davids had been an archbishopric, and he was anxious to be made Bishop of St. Davids that he might renew the metropolitan claims and destroy the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Wales once and for all.

Gerald hurried off to Rome to win the support of Pope Innocent III, taking with him what he considered his most valuable possessions—six of his own books—as a present, but the Pope obviously did not take him very seriously and put him off with delays. Gerald returned to Wales to find that the canons had been overawed by the archbishop and had elected his English nominee, Walter of Dogmaels. Gerald continued the struggle till 1203, but the very chapter of St. Davids said that the idea of the primacy was only a wild scheme of Gerald's, so that Gerald complained : 'The laity of Wales stood by me ; but of the clergy, whose battle I was fighting, hardly one.' The Welsh princes, seeing what lay behind Gerald's fight, supported him. The Prince of Powys said, 'Many and great wars have we Cymry waged with England, but none so great and fierce as his, who fought the king and the archbishop and the might of the whole clergy and people of England for the honour of Cymru.'

<sup>1</sup> The deaths of the Emperor and of Henry II, the quarrels between Philip and Richard, the disputes between the Angevin brothers, &c., all delayed and hampered the Crusade.

§ 7. *The Submission of Gerald to the Archbishop, 1203*

*Gervase of Canterbury* (Stevenson's translation).

THE archbishop prudently quashed the controversy which Gerald, Archdeacon of St. Davids, had originated against him, to bring him into hatred and disrepute, intending to deprive the archbishop of the subjection due to the see of Canterbury from himself (for he aimed at becoming Archbishop of St. Davids) and seven other bishops, and kneeling at the archbishop's feet he humbly besought pardon, and offered to do satisfaction for such wicked presumption, and resigned his archdeaconry to the archbishop. Some time after this the archbishop gave this same Gerald a church worth twenty-five marks, and he who had formerly been his bitter enemy now became one of the archbishop's seven clerks; and as this person had declared in the court of Rome that he was the elect of the church of St. Davids, the archbishop canonically quashed this election and caused another person to be elected.

§ 8. *Geoffrey of Monmouth*

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *British History*,<sup>1</sup>  
Book I, Chapter 1.

WHILST occupied on many and various studies I happened to light upon the History of the Kings of Britain, and wondered that in the account which Gildas and Bede, in their elegant treatises, had given of them, I found nothing said of those kings who lived here before the Incarnation of Christ, nor of Arthur, and many others who succeeded after the Incarnation; though their actions both deserved immortal fame, and were also celebrated by many people in a pleasant manner and by heart, as if they had been written. Whilst

<sup>1</sup> For the historical value of Geoffrey's *British History* and a short account of his life, see Lloyd's *History of Wales*, ii. 523-8.

I was intent upon these and such-like thoughts, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence and learned in foreign histories, offered me a very ancient history in the British tongue,<sup>1</sup> which, in a continued regular story and elegant style, related the actions of them all, from Brutus, the first king of the Britons, down to Cadwallader, son of Cadwallo. At his request, therefore, though I had not made fine language my study, by collecting florid expressions from other authors, yet contented with my homely style, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin. For if I had swelled the pages with rhetorical flourishes, I must have tired my readers by employing their attention more upon my words than upon the history. To you, therefore, Robert Earl of Gloucester, this work humbly sues for the favour of being so corrected by your advice, that it may not be thought to be the poor offspring of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but when polished by your refined wit and judgement, the production of him who had Henry the glorious King of England for his father, and whom we see an accomplished scholar and philosopher as well as a brave soldier and expert commander; so that Britain with joy acknowledges that in you she possesses another Henry.<sup>2</sup>

Giraldus Cambrensis,<sup>3</sup> *Description of Wales*,  
Book I, chapter vii.

The name of Wales was not derived from Wallo, a general, or Wandolena, the queen, as the fabulous history of Geoffrey Arthur falsely maintains, because neither of these personages is to be found among the Welsh; but it arose from a barbarous appellation. The Saxons, when they seized upon Britain, called this nation, as they did all foreigners, Wallenses;

<sup>1</sup> There have been many discussions as to what book this was, whether the 'British tongue' meant 'Breton' or 'Welsh', and even whether the book was a mere literary fiction of Geoffrey's.

<sup>2</sup> For Geoffrey's account of the death of Arthur, see p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> This and the following passage show the opinion of Giraldus as to the historical value of Geoffrey's *British History*.

and thus the barbarous name remains to the people and their country.<sup>1</sup>

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales*,  
Book I, chapter v.

It is worthy of observation that there lived in the neighbourhood of this City of Legions,<sup>2</sup> in our time, a Welshman named Meilyr, who, under the following circumstances, acquired the knowledge of future and occult events. Having, on a certain night, namely that of Palm Sunday, met a damsel whom he had long loved, in a pleasant and convenient place, while he was indulging in her embraces, suddenly, instead of a beautiful girl, he found in his arms a hairy, rough, and hideous creature, the sight of which deprived him of his senses, and he became mad. After many years he was restored to health in the church of St. Davids, through the merits of the saints. But having always an extraordinary familiarity with unclean spirits, by seeing them, knowing them, talking with them, and calling each by his proper name, he was enabled, through their assistance, to foretell future events. He was, indeed, often deceived (as they are) with respect to circumstances at a great distance of time or place, but was less mistaken in affairs which were likely to happen nearer, or within the space of a year. The spirits appeared to him usually on foot, equipped as hunters, with horns suspended from their necks, and truly as hunters not of animals but of souls. He particularly met them near monasteries and monastic cells; for where rebellion exists, there is the greatest need of armies and strength. He knew when any one spoke falsely in his presence, for he saw the devil, as it were, leaping and exulting upon the tongue of the liar. . . . If the evil spirits oppressed him too much, the Gospel of St. John was placed on his bosom, when, like birds, they immediately vanished; but when that book was removed, and the *History of the Britons* by Geoffrey Arthur was sub-

<sup>1</sup> Welsh, from A.S. *wælisc*, *welisc*, M.E. *Walsh*—foreign.

<sup>2</sup> Caerleon.

stituted in its place, they instantly reappeared in greater numbers, and remained a longer time than usual on his body and on the book.

## B. THE TOWNS

### § 9. *Cardiff. A Statement of Liberties, c. 1147*

*Cardiff Records, vol. i.*

THESE are the liberties and free customs of Kerdif and of Tewkesbury, given and granted by Robert and William, Earls erstwhile of Gloucester.

Firstly, that each burgage shall give an annual rent of twelve pence for each service.

And each burgess may at his will give, pledge, sell, or in any other manner alien his burgage which is of his purchase to whomsoever he will, saving nevertheless the service of the Lord Earl.

And if that burgage shall have been of inheritance, his own heir or heirs shall have it. And the next heir, at the death of the predecessor from whom inheritance ought to descend to him, shall enter upon his inheritance forthwith, without having to give notice to the provost or bailiff. And if a burgess shall have two burgages, and shall wish to lease one of them to another man, the lessor may, if he will, grant the same liberty to him who shall lease the said burgage as he himself has, and he shall enjoy it. . . .

Also, a burgess oweth no suit, except at will, to the mill or for fulling or dyeing cloths.

Also, no burgess shall give for his burgage an heriot or relief. But each one may at his will marry his son or daughter, without having to seek licence from any one.

Also, each one may sell his ox, his horse, and whatsoever other lawful merchandise he shall have, without the licence of the lord.

Also, by whatsoever death a burgess shall have been over-

taken (unless he have been condemned for crime), his wife and his children shall have the dead man's chattels; or his next of kin as heirs, if he shall have no wife or children. . . .

Also, each burgess may brew and bake without licence, and without toll and custom.

And he may make dovecotes and a horse-mill and a hand-mill.

And if a burgess be summoned to the Hundred and shall have set out to his business without the vill, or shall be ready to depart so that he have one foot in the stirrup, and thereof shall have two neighbours witnesses, he shall be quit.

Also, the knights and freeholders in the Hundred are quit in the market-place of toll for all their sales and purchases made at their need, unless they be merchants. . . .

Also, merchandise of three pence and under is quit of toll.

Also, two merchants shall give for stallage<sup>1</sup> one farthing.

And all the burgesses and knights and freeholders aforesaid of the Honour<sup>2</sup> are to be quit, at Gloucester and through the whole County of Gloucester, of custom, except that of raw hides and wool-fells.

Also, the burgesses are not bound to come to the Hundred outside the burgh, for any summons.

### § 10. *First Charter of Swansea*<sup>3</sup>

W. H. Jones, *History of Swansea*.

WILLIAM, Earl of Warwick, to all burgesses and men, English and Welsh, present and future, greeting: Be it known to you all, both French and English, present and future, that I have granted, and by my charter confirmed, to the burgesses of Sweynesse these customs, that is to say:

<sup>1</sup> The fee for setting up a stall in the market or fair.

<sup>2</sup> The lordship of an earl or other great baron.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. H. Jones, to whom I owe much of the information summarized in the following notes, dates this charter between 1158 and 1184.

To every burgess a burgage<sup>1</sup> with all its appurtenances, to wit, their assarts,<sup>2</sup> and to every one seven acres beyond the wood, and above Burlakesbroke,<sup>3</sup> and pasture as far as Hackedeweyle<sup>4</sup> and as far as Lyu, and as far as St. David's ditch,<sup>5</sup> and in such manner as none may have any easement<sup>6</sup> there except myself and the said burgesses; and the woods on all sides about my borough to pasture their herds as far as they can go in a day and return the same night to their own homes; and they may have their swine in my wood freely and quietly without custom; oak to make their houses and fences and ships, rendering for a ship twelve pence, and all other wood for their fire, and for all their easements; and to carry and sell wherever they shall wish and be able.

They may have without hindrance all wild beasts of my woods which they can take except the stag and hind and wild boar and marten.<sup>7</sup> And moreover I have granted to them within Pulkanan<sup>8</sup> and Blakepulle,<sup>9</sup> all the beach<sup>10</sup> upon which to make their fisheries. And if it happen that porpoise or sturgeon be taken in any such fishery, it is mine, and I will

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Swansea was created a borough.

<sup>2</sup> An assart is newly cleared land, or land for the first time brought into cultivation.

<sup>3</sup> Burlais Brook, i. e. Cwmbwrla.

<sup>4</sup> For the identification of these places as a road, probably the Old Carmarthen Road, and the river Llan, see the articles by Mr. C. A. Seyler in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, June 1924, December 1924, June 1925.

<sup>5</sup> The Brynmill or Vivian stream.

<sup>6</sup> Right of entry.

<sup>7</sup> Only kings and tenants-in-chief were allowed to hunt the deer, wild boar, and marten. The marten is an animal like a weasel, with a very valuable fur.

<sup>8</sup> Pwllycynan, the lower part of the stream which runs through Crumlyn Marsh.

<sup>9</sup> Black Pill, the little stream or pill which runs through Clyne valley.

<sup>10</sup> They were granted only fishing rights on the beach; the rights of the foreshore were only given to Swansea by the Duke of Beaufort, the present lord, in 1919.

give to him whose the fishing is twelve pence, or one load of corn. And if the burgesses can take fish in any manner outside the pool, it shall be theirs. And if when the tide ebbs they shall find wreck about the pool, it shall be half mine and half theirs. And if they shall find wreck on dry land, it shall be all mine.

And wherever my men-at-arms<sup>1</sup> shall take grass for my horses, my burgesses likewise may take with them, except in my meadows. And if I shall summon my burgesses to arms,<sup>2</sup> or to any business of mine, they shall go at their expense if so be that they can return to their homes the same night. And if I shall lead them further, they shall be at my expense. And if they shall enrich themselves, they may have a half against me.

I have granted to them peace in their homes, and outside their houses for the space of seven feet from their doors,<sup>3</sup> and on their burgages an oven,<sup>4</sup> brewhouse, and household stuff, and all their profits, freely and quietly. And if a burgess shall incur a forfeiture and shall be brought into my court by view of his neighbours and not have bail by pledges and sureties before he shall be brought into my court, he shall plead in his hundred.<sup>5</sup> A burgess must not plead elsewhere

<sup>1</sup> His garrison at Swansea Castle.

<sup>2</sup> This shows that the burgesses held on military tenure.

<sup>3</sup> This probably means freedom from molestation from the garrison and lord's officials within these limits. The lord's officials oppressed the townsmen in many ways, e. g. by 'Scot-ales'—or forcing them to provide them free drinks. Judging by a grant of the eleventh year of King John, they were also in the habit of making the burgesses stand them meals. See Dillwyn's *Contributions to a History of Swansea*: 'That we have released the Welshmen of Gower from the custom which our Sergeants of the Castle of Swansea had of taking their food with the aforesaid Welshmen; and our will is that they be not herein by any one henceforth molested or aggrieved.' A similar charter grants the same privilege to 'the English men of Gower'.

<sup>4</sup> A burgess was bound to have an oven or a hearth on his holding.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the case was to be heard in the Hundred (or local court of the king), not in the lord's court.

than in the hundred when or wherein he shall be challenged of this treason of my body or of my town. And if a burgess shall be challenged of this treason he shall purge himself by oath with five others,<sup>1</sup> unless I shall have aught to say thereon beforehand.

He who shall shed blood<sup>2</sup> from noon on Saturday to Monday morning (shall pay) forty shillings for forfeiture. And from Monday morning to noon on Saturday, twelve pence for forfeiture, except it be premeditated assault and forestallage.<sup>3</sup> No foreign<sup>4</sup> merchant may cut cloths by retail, nor buy skins, nor hides, except of a burgess.

If a burgess wish to depart, and sells his burgage, and gives away his house, the toll is four pence, and let him be quit; and if he so desire he shall occupy for one month for that toll. And if he cannot sell his house, let him do his will with what is above ground.<sup>5</sup> And if a burgess goes away upon his business, let him deliver his house to some one to render his rights, and let him go and return when he shall wish as to his own.

The aforesaid privileges I have granted to my burgesses of Sweynesse and to their heirs, to hold of me and my heirs by hereditary right, at a rent from each one of them to me each year of twelve pence.<sup>6</sup> And that this go and be firm and inviolable, I have brought these to be witnesses: William London, &c.

<sup>1</sup> This is trial by compurgation or oath-helpers, Welsh *rbaith*.

<sup>2</sup> Commit murder or do serious bodily injury.

<sup>3</sup> To sell their goods outside the town to avoid market dues, &c., and so be able to undersell the legitimate merchants.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Foreign’ means from another town as well as from another country. A Cardiff man would be a foreigner in Swansea quite as much as a Frenchman or Italian.

<sup>5</sup> That is, if he sell his land but not his house, he may clear the house, &c., away.

<sup>6</sup> Twelve pence a year for a burgage was the usual price in South Wales in the Middle Ages.

## XII

### LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH,<sup>1</sup> 1194-1240

#### § I. *The Struggle for the Possession of Gwynedd,* 1194-1202

1194.

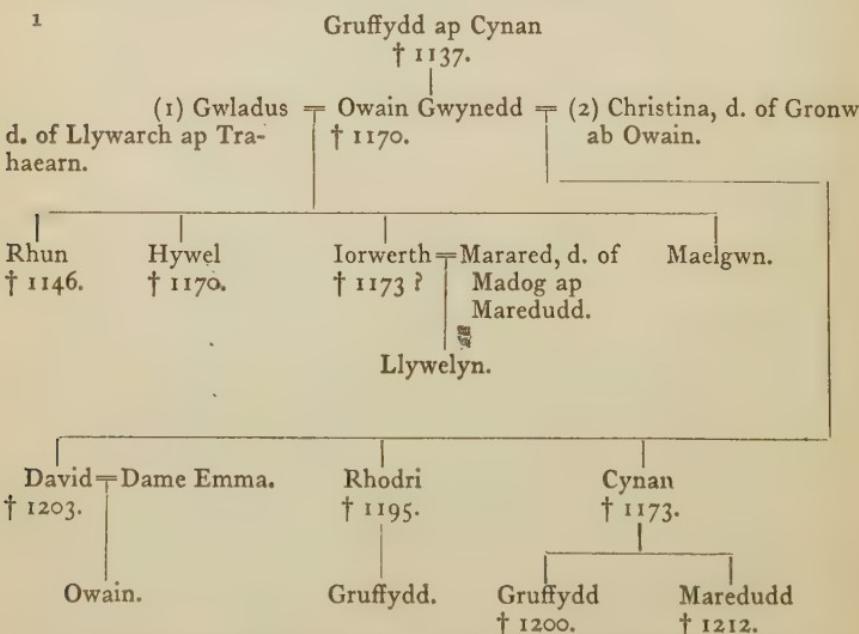
*Brut y Tywysogion.*

AND then Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and Rhodri,<sup>2</sup> son of Owain, and the two sons of Cynan, son of Owain, combined against David, son of Owain Gwynedd, and seized all the territory of David, except three castles.

1195. Rhodri, son of Owain, died.

*Annales Cambriae.*

1200. One thousand two hundred was the year of Christ when Gruffydd,<sup>3</sup> son of Cynan, son of Owain, died after taking upon him the religious habit at Aberconway.



<sup>2</sup> It is not quite certain that Rhodri was on Llywelyn's side in this battle, which took place at Conway.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Lloyd (*Hist. of Wales*, ii. 613) suggests that Llywelyn at once took possession of his cousin's lands—Arfon, Anglesey, and Arllechwedd.

1201. The ensuing year, Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, subdued the cantref of Lleyn, having expelled Maredudd, son of Cynan, on account of his treachery.

1202. The ensuing year, Maredudd, son of Cynan, was expelled from Meirionydd by Hywel son of Gruffydd,<sup>1</sup> his nephew, son of his brother, and was despoiled of everything but his horse.

## § 2. *Llywelyn and Gwenwynwyn*

1202.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THAT year, about the feast of St. Mary, in the autumn, Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, raised an army from Powys, to bring Gwenwynwyn under his subjection, and to possess the country. For though Gwenwynwyn was near to him as to kindred,<sup>2</sup> he was a foe to him as to deeds. And on his march he called to him all the other princes, who were related to him, to combine in making war together against Gwenwynwyn. And when Elise, son of Madog, son of Maredudd, became acquainted therewith, he refused to combine in the presence of all; and with all his energy he tried to bring about a peace with Gwenwynwyn. And therefore, after the clergy and the religious had concluded a peace between Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn, the territory of Elise,<sup>3</sup> son of

<sup>1</sup> Hywel had evidently thought it wise to submit to Llywelyn, and so was allowed to take possession of Meirionydd. This completed Llywelyn's power over Gwynedd. During the next years his great rival was Gwenwynwyn, Prince of Powys, who had succeeded his father, Owain Cyfeiliog, who died in 1197, but had retired to a monastery about three years before.

<sup>2</sup> They were cousins.

Owain Gwynedd.

Iorwerth.

Llywelyn Fawr.

Gwenllian — Owain Cyfeiliog.

Gwenwynwyn.

<sup>3</sup> Elise ap Madog ap Maredudd was a cousin of Owain Cyfeiliog, and so was not Gwenwynwyn's uncle. He was Lord of Penllyn, and Bala was his chief castle.

Madog, his uncle, was taken from him. And ultimately there was given him for maintenance, in charity, the castle of Crogon,<sup>1</sup> with seven small townships. And thus, after conquering the castle of Bala, Llywelyn returned home happily.

1203. And then died David son of Owain, in England, after having been banished out of Wales by Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth.<sup>2</sup>

1208. The ensuing year Christianity was interdicted by the Pope in the whole kingdom of England,<sup>3</sup> because King John had opposed the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury. That year King John banished William de Breos and young William, his son, with their wives and grandsons, to Ireland, out of jealousy and hatred, to their disrespect and loss of property.<sup>4</sup> The same year the king seized Gwenwynwyn at Shrewsbury; and Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, took possession of all his territory, his castles, and his courts. And when Maelgwn, son of Rhys, became acquainted therewith, from fear of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, he razed the castle of Ystrad Meurig to the ground, and burned Dineirth and Aberystwyth. But Llywelyn did not desist from his purpose; for he came to Aberystwyth and repaired it, and took the castle of Penwedig to himself, giving the other portion of Ceredigion above Aeron to his nephews, the sons of Gruffydd, son of Rhys.

<sup>1</sup> Crogen, in the parish of Llandderfel, in the commote of Is Meloch, in the cantref of Penllyn, county of Merioneth.

<sup>2</sup> In July 1201 a treaty was made between King John and Llywelyn, by which Llywelyn promised to do homage to John as soon as he should return to England, and John recognized Llywelyn's right to all the lands he had acquired. In 1203, when David ab Owain died, the manor of Ellesmere, which Henry II had granted him, reverted to the Crown. In 1204, on John's return from France, Llywelyn did the agreed homage, and received the promise of the hand of John's daughter, Joan, in marriage. In 1205 Ellesmere was given to Llywelyn as part of his wife's marriage portion. The marriage took place in 1206 (*Annals of Worcester*).

<sup>3</sup> And Wales.

<sup>4</sup> See the two following extracts.

## WARS AGAINST THE KING AND THE MARCHER LORDS

In 1207 John had helped Llywelyn to drive Gwenwynwyn out of Powys, but in 1208 the unnatural allies had quarrelled, and Llywelyn, like John's other enemies, thought that the quarrel between the king and the Pope gave them an excellent opportunity to gain what they wanted. The first of the attacks on John was led by William de Breos; Llywelyn, encouraged by Pope Innocent III, joined in; others followed till, by the time John had made peace with the Pope, his quarrel with the barons, which led up to the granting of Magna Charta, had begun.

### § 3. *John's Quarrel with William de Breos, 1208*

*L'Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal*, lines 14137-14232  
(abridged).

**A**FTER that, fortune, who often shows herself cruel, disagreeable, and hard in turn to those whom she has favoured, gave a twist of her wheel and made Lord William de Breos<sup>1</sup> feel her power, for the king, who had so long favoured him, changed his conduct towards him. All agreement proved impossible, and this lord was exiled. This was a great grief and a great sin, but I do not know what was the reason for this change, and if I did know it, it would not be for me to tell it. The king conceived such hatred for him that William could not bear it, nor resist the war that was made on him. Nevertheless, though there was peace in Wales, his people there were so bad that he dared not trust them.

<sup>1</sup> William de Breos or Braose, Lord of Bramber in Sussex, of lands near Barnstaple and Totnes, of Abergavenny, Brecon, and Gower, was a Norman baron of the worst type—turbulent, cruel, faithless, and savage. He had been the friend of King John, and had been given lands in Ireland by him. He had had charge of Prince Arthur, but relinquished it when he found the doom intended for the prince. In 1207 he fell into disfavour with John, chiefly because he had not paid the dues for the lands which he had received, but partly because he was suspected of intriguing with the king's enemies in Ireland and Wales. When John sent to demand hostages for his faith, William's wife, Matilda, told the royal envoys that she would trust no sons of hers to a man who had murdered his own nephew.

He had to put to sea, though it was winter and the storms were dangerous. Three days and three nights he tossed about with his wife and children, and then, in a violent storm, arrived off the coast of Ireland. So great was the tempest that those on shore, who saw the ship coming, fully expected to see them drown. De Breos did not know what to do, for, although he meant to come to Ireland to Lord Walter de Lacy, with whom he hoped to find shelter, because de Lacy had married his daughter,<sup>1</sup> the mountainous waves drove the ship to Wicklow, where the earl<sup>2</sup> was then staying. When the earl heard of his coming and what he had suffered he went to him openly, welcomed him kindly, and sheltered him and his wife and children for twenty days.

When the bishop,<sup>3</sup> who was justiciar for the king, heard that the earl had sheltered de Breos, he asked him in a very arrogant way why he had sheltered a traitor to the king, and ordered him to deliver him up at once. The Marshal answered,

<sup>1</sup>

William de Breos — Matilda (Maud) de St. Valerie.  
† 1211 in France.

William de Breos, starved to death at Windsor.	Giles, Bp. of Hereford, † 1215.	Reginald — Gwladus, d. of Llywelyn Fawr.
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John de = Margaret, d. of  
Breos. Llywelyn Fawr.

William, = Eva, d. of Wm.  
hanged by the Marshal,  
Llywelyn, Earl of Pem-  
1230. broke and  
Striguil.

Margaret = Walter de Lacy.

<sup>2</sup> William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil, afterwards Regent for Henry III.

<sup>3</sup> John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, was justiciar in Ireland from about January 1209 to 1213. He was one of John's friends and evil advisers. It was he whom John tried to make Archbishop of Canterbury in 1205, but the Pope quashed the election in favour of Stephen Langton.

'I have no traitor here, but I have sheltered my Lord William, as I ought to do, especially as I did not know that the king had any cause of complaint against him. And since I have harboured him, I should be guilty of an act of treachery if I gave him into your hands. I will conduct him in safety until he is out of my hands. The bishop ought not to ask me to do something which would be a cause of reproach to me.' Having answered the bishop's message, courteously, wisely, loyally, he conducted William in safety to Walter de Lacy.<sup>1</sup>

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 254).

1210. In this same year King John assembled a large army at Pembroke in Wales, and set out for Ireland, where he arrived on the 6th of June. . . . After this the king proceeded in great force, and took several of the fortresses of his enemies, and Walter de Lacy, a man of noble race, fled before him, together with several others who were afraid of falling into his hands. When he came to the county of Meath he besieged the wife of William de Breos, and William her son, with his wife, in a fortress there, and making prisoners of them, he sent them loaded with chains into England, and ordered them to be closely confined in Windsor Castle. At length, King John, after arranging matters at his pleasure throughout the greatest part of all Ireland, returned triumphantly to England on the 29th of August. . . . In this year, too, the noblewoman, Matilda, wife of William de Breos, and her son and heir, William, with his wife, who had been imprisoned at Windsor by order of the English king, died of starvation at that place.

<sup>1</sup> Walter de Lacy, sixth Baron Lacy and second Lord of Meath, was elder brother of Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster. He and his brother had made war in Ireland on de Courcis and on Meiler Fitz Henry, and in April 1207 he was summoned to England to answer for his misdeeds. He made his peace with the king and returned to Ireland in June 1208. He and most of his family helped de Breos against John, and as a result were driven out of Ireland.

§ 4. *Llywelyn Fawr's War with John, 1211-16*

1211.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**L**LYWELYN, son of Iorwerth, made cruel attacks upon the English, and on that account King John became enraged, and formed a design of entirely divesting Llywelyn of his dominion. And he collected a vast army towards Gwynedd, with the view of utterly destroying it. And to join his army, he summoned to him at Chester these princes of Wales: Gwenwynwyn of Powys, and Hywel, son of Gruffydd, son of Cynan of Gwynedd and Madog, son of Gruffydd Maelor, and Maredudd, son of Robert of Cydewain, and Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg, the sons of Lord Rhys. And thereupon Llywelyn moved with his forces into the Perfeddwlad,<sup>1</sup> and his property to the mountain of Eryri,<sup>2</sup> and the forces of Mona, with their property, in the same manner. Then the king with his army came to the castle of Degannwy. And there the army was in such great want of provisions that an egg was sold for a penny half-penny, and it was a delicious feast to them to get horse flesh, and on that account the king returned to England about Whitsuntide, with his errand imperfect, after disgracefully losing many of his men and much property. After that, about the calends of August,<sup>3</sup> the king returned to Wales, his mind being more cruel and his army larger, and he built many castles in Gwynedd. And he proceeded over the River Conway towards the mountain of Eryri, and incited some of his troops to burn Bangor. And there, Robert, Bishop of Bangor<sup>4</sup> was seized in his church, and was

<sup>1</sup> The Perfeddwlad, or four cantrefs between the rivers Conway and Clwyd, a district which constantly changed hands according to the strength or weakness of the Prince of Gwynedd.

<sup>2</sup> Snowdonia.      <sup>3</sup> It was on 8th July that John started again.

<sup>4</sup> On Robert, see Lloyd, *History of Wales*, ii. 635, note. Though 'consecrated by the Archbishop Hubert at Westminster on 16th March 1197, it would seem, however, that he had never been elected'. He died in 1212, probably as a result of the treatment he had received at the hands of John's rough mercenaries.

afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks." Then Llywelyn, being unable to bear the cruelty *of* the king, sent his wife, who was daughter of the king, to make peace between him and the king, in any manner that she might be able. After Llywelyn had received safe conduct to go to and fro from the king, he went to him and made his peace with him, by delivering hostages to the king of the nobles of the country, with twenty thousand cattle and forty steeds, consigning also the middle district<sup>1</sup> to the king for ever. And thereupon all the Welsh princes, except Rhys and Owain, the sons of Gruffydd, son of Rhys, made peace with the king, and the king returned victoriously, and with extreme joy, to England. And then the king commanded those princes to take with them all the troops of Morganwg and Dyfed, with Rhys Gryg and Maelgwn, son of Rhys, and their forces, and to go against the sons of Rhys, son of Gruffydd, son of Rhys, to compel them to surrender themselves into his hands, or to retire into banishment out of all the kingdom. And then the seneschal<sup>2</sup> of Cardiff, the man who was the leader of the army, and Rhys and Maelgwn, sons of the Lord Rhys, urged their troops and their strength, and repaired to Penwedig. And since Rhys and Owain, the sons of Gruffydd, could not withstand a power of that magnitude, and there was not a place open for them in Wales to repair to, they sent messages to Falkes to bring about peace. And they made peace with him, and they consented that the king should have the territory between the Dyfi and the Aeron; and Falkes built a castle for the king at Aberystwyth. And then Rhys and Owain, the sons of Gruffydd, went, under the safe conduct of Falkes, to the court of the king, and the king received them as friends.

<sup>1</sup> The Perfeddwlad.

<sup>2</sup> Falkes de Breaute, one of the worst of John's mercenary captains.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 255).

1211. At Christmas, King John was at York in company with the earls and barons of his kingdom, and in this year, too, the said king collected a large army at Whitchurch,<sup>1</sup> and marched into Wales on the 8th of July, and penetrated in great force into the interior of that country as far as Snowdon, destroying all the places he came to; he received twenty-eight hostages<sup>2</sup> for their submission for the future. After these successes he returned, on the day of St. Mary's Assumption, to Whitchurch.

§ 5. *Reaction against John led by Llywelyn, 1212-16*

1212.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE ensuing year,<sup>3</sup> as Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, Prince of Gwynedd, could not brook the many insults done to him by the men of the king, who had been left in the new castle of Aberconway, he confederated with the Welsh princes, namely, Gwenwynwyn and Maelgwn son of Rhys, . . . and rose against the king, subduing all the castles he had made in Gwynedd, except Degannwy and Rhuddlan; Mathrafal in Powys, made by Robert Vieuxpont,<sup>4</sup> they subdued, and whilst they were reducing that, the king, with a vast army, came to oppose them, and he himself burned it with fire. That year Robert Vieuxpont hanged at Shrewsbury Rhys, son of Maelgwn, who was a hostage to the king, not being yet seven years old. And in the same year, Robert, Bishop of Bangor, died. . . . That year, three illustrious men

<sup>1</sup> 'Album Monasterium.' Professor Lloyd points out that this was probably Oswestry and not Whitchurch.

<sup>2</sup> Thirty hostages, according to *Annales Cambriae*.

<sup>3</sup> Even before the end of 1211, Maelgwn and Rhys and other princes in South Wales, who had fought on the side of John, were alarmed at the success of the king and his obvious intention of crushing Wales, and had attacked and burnt the castles being built, e. g. Aberystwyth, and ravaged the lands of the king or his followers.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Vieuxpont, or Vipont, was John's lieutenant in Powys.

of the nation and chief princes of Wales were hanged in England, that is to say, Hywel, son of Cädwaladr, and Madog, son of Maelgwn, and Meurig Barach.<sup>1</sup> That year, Pope Innocent absolved the three princes, namely Llywelyn son of Iorwerth, and Gwenwynwyn, and Maelgwn son of Rhys, from the oath of fidelity which they had given to the King of England. And he commanded them for the pardon of their sins, to give a sincere pledge of warring against the iniquity of the king. And the interdict of Christianity which he had ordered five years previously in England and Wales was remitted by the Pope to the three princes before mentioned, within their dominions, and to all who were united with them. And they, with one consent, rose against the king, and bravely wrested from him the middle district,<sup>2</sup> which he had previously taken from Llywelyn.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 257).

1212. About this time the Welsh burst fiercely forth from their hiding places, and took some of the English king's castles, decapitating all they found in them, knights and soldiers alike; they also burnt several towns, and at length, after collecting great quantities of booty, they again betook themselves to their retreats without any loss to themselves. When these events became known to the English king, he was very indignant, and collected a numerous army of horse and foot soldiers, determined to ravage the Welsh territories, and to exterminate the inhabitants. On his arriving with his army at Nottingham, before he either ate or drank, he ordered twenty-eight youths,<sup>3</sup> whom he had received the year before as hostages from the Welsh, to be hanged on a gibbet, in revenge for the above mentioned transgressions of their countrymen.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with the following extract from *Roger of Wendover*.

<sup>2</sup> Perfeddwlad. See note on p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Whatever John ordered in the heat of his temper, it is certain that not all the hostages were hanged. Some lived to be returned to Llywelyn by the Welsh clauses of *Magna Charta*. See p. 128.

Whilst he was, after this, sitting at table eating and drinking, there came a messenger from the King of Scotland, who delivered letters, warning him of premeditated treachery against him; soon after which there came another messenger from the daughter of the same king, the wife of Llywelyn, King of Wales; this second messenger brought letters, like the former ones, and told the king that the contents were a secret. After his meal the king took him aside and ordered him to explain the meaning of the letters; these, although they came from different countries, were to one and the same effect, which was that, if the king persisted in the war which he had begun, he would either be slain by his own nobles or delivered to his enemies for destruction. The king was greatly alarmed on hearing this, and as he knew that the English nobles were absolved from their allegiance to him, he put more faith in the truth of the letters; therefore, wisely changing his intention, he ordered his army to return home.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1213. In that year, Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, reduced the castle of Degannwy and the castle of Rhuddlan.

*Annales Cambriae.*

1214. The earls and northern barons entered into a treaty with the princes of Wales against the king.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1215. The ensuing year there was a disturbance between King John and the English of the north<sup>1</sup> and many others of the earls and barons of England, because that King John would not keep with them the old law and good customs which they had obtained from Edward and Henry, the first

<sup>1</sup> The first English barons to resist John were certainly those of the North,—men like Eustace de Vesci and Richard de Percy, the descendants of men who had fought for the monarchy against feudalism in 1174, because they belonged to the ministerial nobility created by Henry II, and had no sympathy with feudalism.

kings, and which he had withheld from the kingdom, when he had released himself from giving them those laws. And that disturbance extended so far that all the good men of England and all the princes of Wales combined together against the king, so that none of them without the others would enter into peace or agreement or truce with the king, until he restored to the churches their laws and privileges, which he and his ancestors had aforetime taken from them, and until he also restored to the good men of England and Wales their lands and the castles which he at his will had taken from them without either right or law. And after they had been instructed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England, and his earls and barons, they asked whether he would restore the good old laws to the kingdom, but he refused them, as has been said before, from fear of them ; and he took the cross,<sup>1</sup> and as before, the northern men rose up against him on the one side and the Welsh on the other side. And in the first battle the north men took from him the city of London. And then, Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, with the Welsh, invested Shrewsbury, and without opposition the town and castle were delivered up to him.

Young Rhys, the nephew, and Maelgwn, son of Rhys, his uncle, became reconciled, and they proceeded to Dyfed together, and the Welsh obtained possession of all Dyfed, with the exception of Cemaes,<sup>2</sup> and that they ravaged, and Arberth<sup>3</sup> and Maenclochog,<sup>4</sup> and from thence Maelgwn and Owain, son of Gruffydd, proceeded to Gwynedd to Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth. Young Rhys collected also an army of vast

<sup>1</sup> When King John found how great were the demands of his barons and how threatening was their attitude, and that it seemed impossible to break up the alliance of barons, Church, and people against him, he took the cross to get what protection he could for his own person and lands.

<sup>2</sup> The cantref in the extreme north of Pembroke, the district round Newport.

<sup>3</sup> Narberth.

<sup>4</sup> In the south of Cemaes.

magnitude, and obtained possession of Cydweli and Carnwyllon<sup>1</sup> and burned the castle. And from thence he drew to Gower, and he first reduced the castle of Llychwr, and afterwards he fought against the castle of Hugh,<sup>2</sup> and the garrison essayed to keep the castle against him, but Rhys obtained the castle by force, passing the garrison and castle through fire and sword. The following day he marched towards the castle of Ystum Llwynarth<sup>3</sup> in Seinhenydd,<sup>4</sup> and from fear of him, the garrison burned the town. And they, without being diverted from their purpose, proceeded to the castle of Ystum Llwynarth, and he encamped about it that night, and the following day he obtained the castle which, with the town, he burned. And by the end of three days he reduced all the castles of Gower; and thus, happy and victorious, he returned home. And then Rhys Gryg was liberated from the king's prison, after having given his son and two other hostages for him. . . . Then Giles, Bishop of Hereford, made peace with the king, from fear of the Pope, and on the road, going to the king, he was taken ill, and he died at Gloucester, about the feast of St. Martin,<sup>5</sup> and his patrimony came to his brother, Rheinallt de Breos, who took for his

<sup>1</sup> The district between Cydweli (Kidwelly) and Gower. There was a castle of that name, the site of which is uncertain, but it was probably near Llanelly, where there is a cottage in the Gwendraeth valley known as Castell Carnwyllon.

<sup>2</sup> Llandeilo Talybont,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-west by north of Swansea.

<sup>3</sup> Ystum Llwynarth or Ystum Garth = Oystermouth, four miles west of Swansea. The English name is probably an anglicization of the Welsh influenced by the fact that oysters are found in the bay there.

<sup>4</sup> Seinhenydd. In his *Antiquarian Survey of East Gower*, Colonel W. Ll. Morgan proves that this cannot be Senghenydd near Caerphilly, and tries to prove that it means Swansea. Though his etymology is wrong, the fact appears to be correct, for Mr. W. H. Jones, in his *History of Swansea* (Carmarthen, 1920), establishes beyond doubt the fact that there used to be a church there dedicated to St. Cenydd, and that the name of the place was Llancemei or Llangemei, or Genydd.

<sup>5</sup> 11th November.

*Magna Charta* (McKechnie).

Article 56. If we have disseised or removed Welshmen from lands or liberties or other things, without the legal judgement of their peers in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them ; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided in the Marches by the judgement of their peers, for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, for tenements in the Marches according to the law of the Marches.<sup>2</sup> Welshmen shall do the same to us and ours.<sup>3</sup>

Article 57. Further, for all those possessions from which any Welshman has, without the lawful judgement of his peers, been disseised or removed by King Henry, our father, or King Richard, our brother, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others to which we are bound to warrant them), we shall have respite until the usual term of Crusaders,<sup>4</sup> excepting those things about which a plea has been raised or an inquest made by our order before we took the cross ; but as soon as we return (or if perchance we desist from our expedition), we will immediately grant full justice in accordance with the laws of the Welsh and in relation to the foresaid regions.

Article 58. We will immediately give up the son of Llywelyn

<sup>1</sup> Gwladus.

<sup>2</sup> The three distinct kinds of law are referred to—the English, Welsh, and March law—but in all three the judgement of peers is employed to settle disputes, and the case is always to be heard in the Marches. What were the peers of a Welshman ? Were they Welsh barons or freeholders, or would English barons holding lands in Wales or the Marches be included ?

<sup>3</sup> The last sentence shows that Welshmen had taken possession of lands claimed by Englishmen.

<sup>4</sup> The usual respite allowed to Crusaders was three years, but that no one took John's crusading vow seriously is obvious from the later phrase in this article, 'or if perchance we desist from our expedition'.

and all the hostages of Wales, and the charters delivered to us as security for the peace.<sup>1</sup>

These three articles show that Llywelyn's help had been valuable to the barons.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1215. That year Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and the Welsh princes in general, collected a vast army to Carmarthen,<sup>2</sup> and before the end of five days he obtained the castle and razed it to the ground. And then they demolished the castles of Llanstephan and Laugharne and St. Clears. And from thence, on the eve of the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle,<sup>3</sup> they proceeded to Ceredigion and fought against the castle of Emlyn.<sup>4</sup> Then the men of Cemaes did homage to Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and the castle of Trefdraeth<sup>5</sup> was delivered to him, which, by general consent, was shattered. And when the garrison of Aberystwyth saw that they could not maintain the castle, they delivered it up to Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, on the feast of St. Stephen,<sup>6</sup> and the following day, the feast of St. John the Apostle, the castle of Cilgerran was delivered to him. And then Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and all the Welsh princes that were with him, returned to their countries, happy and joyful with victory. . . . And during that expedition there was a gentle tranquillity, and fairness of winter atmosphere, such fine weather as had never been seen or heard of before.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1216. A year after that and then there was a partition of land between Maelgwn, son of Rhys, and his brother, Rhys Gryg, and Rhys and Owain, sons of Gruffydd, son of Rhys,

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen from an earlier extract, p. 123, many of the Welsh hostages had already been hanged by John at Nottingham in 1214. The son of Llywelyn, who was probably his eldest son Gruffydd, had been handed over to John in 1211.

<sup>2</sup> A royal castle.

<sup>3</sup> St. Thomas the Apostle, 21st December.

<sup>4</sup> Newcastle Emlyn.

<sup>5</sup> Newport, Pembrokeshire.

<sup>6</sup> 26th December.

at Aberdovey, in the presence of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, when all the Welsh princes, for the most part, and all the wise men of Gwynedd, were summoned thither together. . . .<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. *Llywelyn's Struggle with the Marcher Lords,* 1216-26

1217.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

In that interval, Rheinallt de Breos<sup>2</sup> and the king by chance became reconciled. . . . Then also Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd, became angry with Rheinallt de Breos; and, breaking the treaty, he directed his army towards Brecheiniog; and he commenced by attacking Aberhodni which he designed totally to destroy. And thereupon the men of the town made peace with Llywelyn, through Young Rhys, who became an accepted arbitrator between them, by delivering five hostages to Llywelyn, of the gentlemen of the town, that they would pay him a hundred marks, since they could not oppose him. And from thence he conducted his army to Gower, over the Black Mountain, where many sumpters were endangered; and then he encamped at Llangiwg.<sup>3</sup> When Rheinallt observed the devastation that Llywelyn was committing in his territory, he took six noble knights with him, and came to give himself up to the disposal of Llywelyn, who gave him the castle of Senghenydd,<sup>4</sup> which Llywelyn had entrusted to Rhys Gryg. And after remaining there a few days he led his army towards

<sup>1</sup> The details of this division may be seen in *Brut y Tywysogion*. The notable thing is that Llywelyn kept none of the South Wales lands for himself, but gave them to the sons of Rhys, who did homage to Llywelyn for them. So Llywelyn showed himself a farsighted leader, not just a greedy self-seeker.

<sup>2</sup> Rheinallt, or Reynold, or Reginald de Breos, was only one of many who, sooner or later, after the death of John and failure of Louis of France, made their peace with the government, then in the hands of William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil.

<sup>3</sup> About one mile north-north-east of Pontardawe.

<sup>4</sup> Swansea. See note on p. 126.

Dyfed, against the Flemings<sup>1</sup> who were suing for peace with him. Yet the prince did not give up his purpose, but drew towards Haverford, and arranged his troops round the town, with the intention of fighting against it. And thereupon, Young Rhys, at the head of a body of the men of the south of whom he was the leader, went through the river Cleddau, and approached the town, having that retinue with him, in order to attack the town first. And then Iorwerth,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of St. Davids, accompanied by many of the religious and clergy, came to the prince and proposed terms of peace to him. And these were the terms, namely, they were to give the prince twenty hostages from Rhos and Pembroke, of the noblest, that they would pay him a thousand marks by next Michaelmas; or otherwise they were to do homage to him by that time, and were to hold under him for ever. And after that every one returned to his country. And in that interval pacification was declared between Henry, King of England, and Louis, son of the King of France. . . .

In that interval, William the Marshal fought against Caerleon<sup>3</sup> and took it; for the Welsh had not consented to the above pacification, supposing the agreement to have been forgotten or disregarded. And then Rhys Gryg destroyed the

<sup>1</sup> The Flemings came to meet him at Cefn Cynfarchan, east of Llanfallteg and a little north of Whitland.

<sup>2</sup> Iorwerth, a man of pure Welsh blood, who had been Abbot of Talley, was made Bishop of St. Davids in June 1215, probably through the influence of Llywelyn.

<sup>3</sup> Llywelyn's ally, Morgan of Caerleon, attacked William the Marshal's lands in Gwent. William himself certainly did not go to Wales at this time. His son, William, may have been working for his father, or, what is more probable, Caerleon was taken by William the elder's bailiff, as *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal* says (see next extract). So occupied was the Earl of Pembroke in helping the little king to maintain his position on the throne and to win over his enemies, that he unselfishly allowed Llywelyn to hold the royal castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen until the king came of age, although such a cession must have been a serious disadvantage to himself.

town of Llangyndaf and all the castles of Gower, and their villages. And he expelled the English population that were in that country entirely, so that they had no hope ever to return home, taking all their property as he chose, and placing Welshmen to dwell in the lands.

*L'Historie de Guillaume le Marechal*, lines 17727-17872 (abridged).

When Louis had departed and his Frenchmen were gone, the Marshal took care to place guardians in all the royal castles, as he was bound to do, acting according to the counsel of the most loyal barons. But I have forgotten to say that when a parliament was held and the treaty arranged, Prince Louis had ordered all his men, French and French and Welsh as well as English, to do as he did and all observe the treaty. The treaty was observed by earl and baron except by Morgan of Caerleon, who made war on the Marshal and did him many an injury and hurt, so that Llywelyn ordered him explicitly, through William de Coleville, to stop fighting and observe the treaty, but he would not. He answered that for his part he would never observe the treaty, and that as long as the Marshal had even one foot of his land he would make war on him to the utmost of his power. So Morgan said and so he did, for it was during the truce that Sir Rollant Bloet and others were killed. After the departure of Louis to his own country Morgan did not cease to make war. But next year, after Michaelmas, he suffered a big loss, for the Marshal's men called his men and his friends together, besieged Caerleon, and took it. The war lasted long after this, and the country suffered greatly from it. To end it a council was called at Worcester. The archbishops were summoned, so were the bishops and the laymen Gruffyd, and Llywelyn of Wales, and earls and barons whose names I do not know. So a great many came to the Council, and they spoke of many things; and then Llywelyn and his faithful followers, supported by the Earl of Chester and the Bishop of Winchester, rose and asked

the king to give back to Morgan, his cousin, what the Marshal had taken from him by force and would not restore to him according to the terms of peace, so that each should have the lands he had held before the war. The Marshal said he would take counsel with his followers, and if they agreed he was ready to give back the land. But they pointed out that he had a right to the lands and ought to keep them. The Marshal then entrusted his case to one of his followers who could speak well. This man came before the king and, speaking quite simply and without any exaggeration, said: ‘Listen, dear Sire, to what my Lord wishes to tell you. My Lord shows you rightly that Morgan has no real claim to the land, and that his case has no foundation. When Louis had sworn to observe the truce and ordered his followers to do so, Morgan would not. He preferred to keep up pride, abuses, and wrongs. It can be proved that it was during the truce that the said knights and others were slain. This we can prove but he cannot disprove. He has burnt twenty-two churches and so disgraced the lands that he has incurred excommunication. There is no need to go further.’ The earls and barons who heard the case, because of the evil that Morgan had done, adjudged the land and the castle of Caerleon with all its dependencies to the Marshal. Then the council broke up.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1220. That year, on the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist<sup>1</sup> next after that, Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, summoned most of the princes of all Wales, and collected a vast army to go against the Flemings of Rhos and Pembroke, because of their breaking the peace and treaty, which the men of England had made between the English and the Welsh, by their committing frequent depredations upon the Welsh and harassing them. On the first day he attacked the castle of Arberth,<sup>2</sup> which the Flemings had built, after it had been formerly

<sup>1</sup> 29th August.

<sup>2</sup> Narberth.

destroyed by the Welsh, and he obtained the castle by force and threw it to the ground, after killing some of the garrison, burning others, and capturing others. And the following day he destroyed the castle of Gwys,<sup>1</sup> and burned the town. The third day he came to Haverford, and burned the whole of the town to the castle gate. And thus he went round Rhos and Deugleddau in five days, making vast slaughter of the people of the country. After making a truce with the Flemings until the Calends of May, he returned back joyful and happy.

**1221.** In that interval Young Rhys became angry with the Lord Llywelyn, and separated from him, and went to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke,<sup>2</sup> because Llywelyn had given Carmarthen to Maelgwn, son of Rhys, and would not give Aberteifi to him, which fell to his share when South Wales was divided. Then Llywelyn, with his army, came to Aberystrywyth, and obtained possession of the castle, with the territory attached to it, and placed it under his dominion. And then Young Rhys repaired to the court of the king and complained to the king of the insult that Llywelyn had offered to him. And the king summoned Llywelyn and the earls and barons of the Marches to Shrewsbury. And in that council Young Rhys and Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, were reconciled; and Llywelyn relinquished Aberteifi in his favour, as he had given Carmarthen to Maelgwn, son of Rhys. . . . That year, about the feast of St. Nicholas,<sup>3</sup> John de Breos<sup>4</sup> repaired the castle of Abertawe and Senghenydd, by the permission and advice of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth.

**1223.** William the Marshal returned from Ireland with a

<sup>1</sup> Wiston.

<sup>2</sup> This is William the Marshal, the younger, for the regent died in May 1219.

<sup>3</sup> 6th December.

<sup>4</sup> John de Breos was the elder of the four sons of William de Breos, the younger, who had been starved to death in 1210. He laid claim to the lands of his grandfather, trying to turn out his uncle Reginald or Rheinalt who had deserted Llywelyn in 1217. Llywelyn evidently supported his claim, and had married him to his daughter Margaret in 1219.

multitude of cavalry and infantry and came up to land with a vast fleet about Palm Sunday. And on Easter Monday he approached Aberteifi, and that day the castle was delivered to him ; and on the Wednesday following he drew to Carmarthen and took that castle too. And when Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, heard that . . . he sent Gruffydd his son<sup>1</sup> with a very numerous army to oppose the earl. And when Gruffydd understood that it was the intention of the earl to come to Cydweli, he proceeded towards it, accompanied by the nobility of Wales. And Rhys Gryg reminded them that they were to guard against the treachery of the burgesses, and endeavour to incite the Welsh to seek safety in the woods ; but they did not give way, for they proceeded to the town and burned it and the church to the ground. When the earl heard of this he proceeded across the Tywi by the bridge of Carmarthen, and boldly awaited Gruffydd, son of Llywelyn. And after continued fighting for the greater part of the day, each of the two armies separated and returned to their tents, after killing many on both sides, and wounding others. And then, for lack of provision, Gruffydd, son of Llywelyn, returned to his country. Then the earl repaired the castle of Carmarthen, and began to build the castle of Cilgerran. It was not long after the work was commenced before there came letters to him from the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury requiring him to come in his own person to answer before them, and to make satisfaction for what he had done, and to receive satisfaction from the prince for every wrong he had done him. And the earl obeyed the commands and sailed with a small retinue in a ship to England, leaving his army at Cilgerran to carry on the work commenced, and to strengthen the place where they might observe danger. And the prince and the

<sup>1</sup> Llywelyn did not always agree with Gruffydd his son. Gruffydd, the eldest son, but not by John's daughter Joan, probably felt sore at being supplanted by Joan's son David. But though Llywelyn and Gruffydd had quarrelled, a reconciliation had been made in 1221.

earl appeared together at Ludlow before the council of the king and the archbishop. And since they could not be reconciled, the earl designed, through the aid of Earl Ferrers and Henry Pictor, Lord of Ewias, to proceed through the territory of the prince to his own country ; but he was not able, because Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, had sent his son Gruffydd and a large army with him, and Rhys Gryg and his men, to Carnwyllon, to intercept the earl and his men, and there was he slain.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 443).

1223. In the same year whilst William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was in Ireland, Llywelyn, King of the Welsh, with a strong force, seized on two castles belonging to the said William and beheaded all the people he found in them, and then went away, leaving his own Welsh followers in these castles. This circumstance, however, after a few days reached the ears of William the Marshal, and he returned in all haste to England, where he collected a large force, and then besieged and retook the two castles ; and because all his followers who had been taken in these castles by Llywelyn had been beheaded by him, so William the Marshal, in retaliation, now beheaded all the Welsh he took prisoners ; and afterwards, the further to revenge himself, he invaded Llywelyn's territory and ravaged the country wherever he went with fire and sword. Llywelyn, on hearing this, came to oppose the Marshal with a large force, but he, having fortune on his side, boldly attacked the enemy, and after slaying numbers of the Welsh put all the rest to flight, and, hotly pursuing them, slew them without mercy ; nine thousand of them were computed to have been slain and made prisoners, only a very few having escaped by flight.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 432).

In the same year,<sup>1</sup> about the nativity of St. Mary,<sup>2</sup> Llywelyn, King of Wales, with a large army laid siege to a castle called

<sup>1</sup> This is placed by Wendover under 1221, but certainly took place in 1223.

<sup>2</sup> 8th September.

Builth. Reginald de Breos, whose town it was, earnestly besought assistance from the king that by his means the siege might be raised, as he was not able to effect this by his own means. The king, therefore, as he ought not to desert his nobles, marched thither with a large army and raised the siege, the Welsh, as was their custom, taking to flight. The king then marched towards Montgomery with his army, ordering all the property of the Welsh that they met with, and their cattle, to be collected for the support of his followers who were with him. On their arrival at Montgomery, after roving through the country there, the commanders of the army thought that it was a fit place to build a castle, as the position of it seemed impregnable. The king, therefore, for the security of that district ordered a castle to be built there, on account of the well-known incursions of the Welsh; and then all, having obtained permission, returned home, the nobles being allowed to depart on payment of two marks of silver for each scutcheon.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 509).

1228. In the month of August of the same year the knights and soldiers of the castle of Montgomery, situated on the Welsh borders, sallied forth with the inhabitants of the district to widen and render more safe a road near the castle, on account of the Welsh banditti who robbed and murdered travellers there. They therefore marched to the place with swords, axes, staves and other weapons, and began cutting down the trees, hedges, and shrubs to render the road wider for travellers. This circumstance having reached the ears of the Welsh, they came in great force and attacked them, forcing them to retreat into the castle, though not without some slaughter on both sides; they then laid siege to the castle, but the garrison immediately sent word to Hubert<sup>1</sup> the Justiciary, to whom the king had lately given that honour, together with the castle, on which the king marched in person with all haste

<sup>1</sup> Hubert de Burgh.

to the place, and compelled the Welsh to raise the siege. The king, who had arrived with only a small force, expecting reinforcements, was soon after joined by them, on which he marched with a large body of soldiers to the above-mentioned wood, which was very large, extending for about five leagues ; but although it was large and very difficult to destroy on account of the thick growth of trees, it was after much difficulty cut down and burnt. The king then led his army farther into the country, and arrived at a place inhabited by some monks of the White Order<sup>1</sup> called Cridia,<sup>2</sup> which, as the king had been told, was a receptacle for the plunder taken by the Welsh. On the orders of the king these buildings were set fire to and reduced to ashes ; and Hubert, seeing the impregnable nature of the place, by the king's consent ordered a castle to be built there. Before this was completed, however, numbers were slain on both sides, and the noble William de Breos, when on a foraying expedition, was seized by the Welsh and taken away a prisoner. A knight too, who had been lately belted by the king, had gone out with others to forage, and was, with his companions, cut off by the enemy, on which he boldly dashed into the midst of them ; and after slaying numbers who opposed him, he at last fell slain, together with some others of the king's army. Amongst the chief of the king's army were many who were in confederacy with Llywelyn, although they pretended to adhere to the king : on this account, and because all kinds of provisions failed the army, he was obliged to make a disgraceful peace, by which he agreed that the castle, which was almost completed and had cost great labour and expense, should be pulled down at the king's own cost ; and that Llywelyn should give the king

<sup>1</sup>. Cistercian Order.

<sup>2</sup> Place not known. In another place Wendover speaks of a monk of Cumira (s.a. 1231), by which he evidently meant Cwm Hir. This may be a corruption of that, but Abbey Cwm Hir is not in the vale of Kerry, and so 'Cridia' probably represents some grange belonging to Cwm Hir.

for his trouble and expense three thousand marks, and, this treaty having been ratified, each of them returned home. And thus the King of England returned in shame, after having spent nearly three months in building the said castle, wasted an endless amount of money and left the noble William de Breos a prisoner in the hands of Llywelyn. The ridicule of many was then aroused, because, when the building of the castle was begun, the Justiciary had given it the name of Hubert's Folly, wherefore, when, after so much trouble and expense, they saw it razed to the ground, they all said that the Justiciary was not only a prophet, but even more than a prophet.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1228. The ensuing year, King Henry having with him the strength of England, came to Wales, intending to subjugate Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and all the Welsh princes; and encamped in the place called Ceri; and on the other side of the wood, the Welsh with Llywelyn their prince assembled to oppose the king. And there they attacked their enemies, and fought with them furiously, making vast slaughter of them. And there young William de Breos was taken wounded and imprisoned; and for his liberation the castle of Builth, with the district and a vast sum of money, was given to Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth. And then the king returned to England with shame. Only he obtained the homage of the princes who were there, and formed a pacification between himself and Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 539, abridged).

1231. In the month of May in this year the Welsh burst forth from their hiding-places like rats from their holes, and spread fire and devastation over the lands which formerly belonged to William de Breos, but on the King of England's<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Brut y Tywysogion*: 'Then on account of the dispute which had taken place between Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and the king, Llywelyn burned the town and castle of Baldwin (west of Chirbury), and Maes Hybeidd (New Radnor), and Gelli (Hay), and Aberhonddu (Brecon), and

marching there with a small military force, according to custom retreated to their fastnesses. The king then went to the north, leaving Hubert the Justiciary in this quarter to repel the incursions of the Welsh, who resumed their pillaging as soon as they heard of the king's departure, invading the district of Montgomery. The knights of the garrison sallied out, cut off the retreat of the Welsh, and slew or took prisoner many of them, whom the Justiciar ordered to be decapitated and their heads to be sent to the king. Llywelyn, in great indignation at this deed, collected an army, harassed the lands of the barons of the Marches, sparing neither the churches nor ecclesiastics, nor some noble women and girls who had fled to the churches for safety.

Henry gathered a great army at Oxford on 13th July, and there the bishops solemnly excommunicated Llywelyn and his adherents who had burned the churches. After that they came to Hereford. Llywelyn then lay with his army near Montgomery, in a field by the river, covered with marshes, where he was waiting in ambuscade to attack the knights of the garrison. He sent to the castle a Cistercian monk from a convent in the district called Cumira,<sup>1</sup> who told the knights of the garrison, in answer to their questions, that Llywelyn was lying with a small force in a field near by, that he was awaiting reinforcements, that he had broken down the bridge but that they might easily cross the river and field on horseback and put the Welsh to flight. The false information was believed, the garrison at once armed and soon reached the place. The Welsh feigned flight into a wood that was near. The knights of the castle pursued them hotly till they were immersed in the river and marsh up to their horses' bellies, when the Welsh

razed the castles to the ground.' These lands had been in the custody of William the Marshal, the younger, and on his death, in the spring of 1231, were handed to the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, who was fast becoming a great power in Wales. This probably accounts for Llywelyn's attack in 1231.

<sup>1</sup> Cwm Hir?

rushed on them and with their lances caused a cruel slaughter among them, as they rolled about in the mud. At length, after much slaughter on both sides, the Welsh were victorious. When Henry heard the news he marched with all haste to the convent of Cumira, to which the monk belonged who had betrayed the knights, and burned a farm belonging to the convent after having plundered it of everything, and then plundered the convent itself, ordering that to be burnt ; but the abbot saved the building by paying the king three hundred marks. After this the king ordered the castle of Matilda<sup>1</sup> of Wales, which had some time ago been destroyed by the Welsh, to be strongly rebuilt of stone, and when it was finished at great expense, he placed in it a garrison of knights and soldiers to check the incursions of the Welsh. . . .

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 552, abridged).

1232. About this time Llywelyn the Welsh prince invaded the territory of the English barons, and in his usual way began ravaging the country with fire and pillage. Peter, Bishop of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> and some other counsellors of the king, therefore went to him and declared that it was a disgrace to the Crown that the Welsh robbers should be left to rob and ravage with impunity. The king replied to them : ‘I am told by my treasurers that the whole revenue in my treasury is scarcely sufficient to procure me ordinary food and clothing, so poverty prevents me from engaging in war.’

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1233. That year there was a dispute between King Henry and Richard the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. And then the said earl entered into treaty with Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and the Welsh princes ; and immediately he and Owain, son of Gruffydd, son of Lord Rhys, assembled a vast army and

<sup>1</sup> Pain’s Castle, called Matilda’s, after Matilda de St. Valerie, wife of William de Breos, who died in 1211.

<sup>2</sup> Peter of Rivaux, Henry’s Poitevin minister, who had ousted Hubert de Burgh from his offices and the king’s favour.

proceeded against Aber Mynwy and burned it, and slaughtered the king's men who were there in garrison. Afterwards they soon reduced those towns and castles, to wit Cardiff and Abergavenny, Pengelli, Blaen Llyfni, and Builch y Dinas, and razed them all to the ground except Cardiff.

That year Maelgwn the Little, son of Maelgwn, son of Lord Rhys, and Owain, son of Gruffydd, son of Lord Rhys, and Rhys Gryg, with their sons, and the army of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, and the army of the Earl of Pembroke assembled against Carmarthen. They fought against it for three months and made a bridge over the Tywi. And then the sailors came round with the flood tide to break down the bridge. When the Welsh perceived that their expedition prospered not, they returned to their respective countries.

*Roger of Wendover* (Bohn, ii. 573, abridged).

1233. The King had by this time<sup>1</sup> collected a powerful army at Gloucester, with which he advanced towards Hereford in Wales, where he invaded the Marshal's territory, endeavouring to deprive him of his inheritance and seize his person. That cautious soldier had, however, before the king's approach, withdrawn all his cattle and provisions, wherefore the king, not being able to stay there, went with his army to the castle of Grosmont. The Marshal heard that the king passed his nights in the castle while his army encamped outside. So the whole body, except the Marshal, who would not attack the king, marched there with the Welsh chiefs, and a little after dark on Martinmas Day<sup>2</sup> surprised the king's troops asleep in their tents, took possession of more than five hundred horses, with all their baggage and equipments, the men themselves fleeing nearly naked in all directions. The conquerors did not want to wound or take prisoners, and there were only two knights slain out of the whole number. They then took all the wagons and carts containing the money, provisions, and

<sup>1</sup> End of October 1233.

<sup>2</sup> 11th November.

arms, and having carefully disposed of their booty, returned safe to their hiding-places. . . . Great numbers of the king's army, who had lost their horses and all their money, then went away in great trouble to their own homes. The king, thus left alone, put his Poitevin freebooters in charge of his castles in Wales and gave the command of his army to John of Monmouth and Ralph de Taoeny, whilst he himself returned to Gloucester. . . .

**1234.** After this, during the octave of the Epiphany,<sup>1</sup> the Earl Marshal and the Welsh chief, Llywelyn, collected all the forces they could muster, and penetrating a good distance into the king's territory, spread fire wherever they went; so that from the confines of Wales as far as the town of Shrewsbury there was not a place that escaped their ravages; they then burned the town of Shrewsbury and then returned home with valuable booty.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

**1234.** The ensuing year, Richard Earl of Pembroke was stabbed in a battle in Ireland, after having been treacherously deserted by his knights; and before the end of a fortnight he died.<sup>2</sup> That year, Gruffydd, son of Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, was liberated after being six years in prison.

<sup>1</sup> 6th January; octave, a week after a festival.

<sup>2</sup> The Marshal had inherited most of Strongbow's lands in Leinster. Henry urged the Irish and Anglo-Irish to attack him there. This they were quite ready to do. Richard hurried over to Ireland in February, and in April was killed by the Irish. In June a general truce was made in which Llywelyn participated. The truce was up in 1236, but was renewed again and again until the time of Llywelyn's death; in spite of the urgency of his people and the flattery of his bards, Llywelyn realized that he had won all that he could win, and that it was impossible to make Wales really independent of England. His refusal to be dragged into fresh wars for the sake of an unattainable dream accounts for his message to Henry found in the next extract.

§ 7. *Last Days of Llywelyn the Great*

1237.

*Matthew Paris (Bohn, i. 47).*

**I**N this year, Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, by special messengers sent word to the king that, as his time of life required that he should henceforth abandon all strife and the tumult of war, and should for the future enjoy tranquillity and peace, he had determined to place himself and all his possessions under the authority and protection of him, the English king, and would hold his lands from him in all faith and friendship, and enter into an indissoluble treaty; and if the king should be proceeding on any expedition, he would, to the best of his power, as his liege subject, promote it, by assisting him with troops, arms, horses, and money. To confirm and ratify this treaty, the bishops of Hereford and Chester were sent as mediators to bring the aforesaid matter to a conclusion. The cause of this message is said to have been that the said Llywelyn, owing to an attack of paralysis, was unable of himself to oppose the grievous attacks of his son Gruffydd, who was making war on him. Many of the nobles of Wales agreed to this treaty, and confirmed it at the same time as Llywelyn; some of them, however, strongly opposed their compacts. The faith of the Welsh is a want of faith, and they show no mercy when they have it in their power; and when fortune befriends them they persecute those who fall into their power; and when defeated, they either fly or humble themselves: and such persons are never to be trusted, as the poet says, ‘I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts;’ the philosopher Seneca also says, ‘ You will never make safe treaty with an enemy.’

*Annales Cambriae.*

1238. In the day of the feast of St. Luke<sup>1</sup> the Evangelist, all the princes of Wales swore fealty<sup>2</sup> to Lord David, son of the Lord Prince Llywelyn at Strata Florida.

<sup>1</sup> 18th October.

<sup>2</sup> That is, they swore to recognize him as successor to his father, Llywelyn, instead of his elder brother, Gruffydd.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1239. And David, son of Llywelyn, seized his brother Gruffydd, breaking the compact with him, and imprisoned him and his son at Criccieth.

1240 was the year of Christ, when Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, Prince of Wales, died—the man whose good works it would be difficult to enumerate—and was buried at Aberconway, after taking the habit of religion. And after him David, his son by Joan, daughter of King John, his mother, reigned.

*Annales Cambriae.*

1240. Then died that mighty man, that second Achilles, namely Lord Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, son of Owain Gwynedd, then Prince of Wales, having received the monastic habit in the convent of Aberconway with great devotion. His deeds I am unworthy to narrate. For he ruled his enemies with sword and spear, gave peace to the monks, provided food and clothing for those who made themselves poor for Christ's sake, enlarged his boundaries by his wars, gave good justice to all according to their deserts, and by the bonds of fear or love bound all men duly to him.

### XIII

#### DAVID AP LLYWELYN, 1240-1246

##### § I. *David's Relations with Henry III*

1240.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE May following, David, son of Llywelyn, having with him the barons of Wales, went to Gloucester, to do homage to the king his uncle, and to receive from him his territory lawfully.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, i. 371).

1241. During all this while, Gruffydd, the son of Llywelyn,<sup>1</sup> had been detained in prison by his brother David, who had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ann. Camb.*, s.a. 1239 : ‘Grifinus filius Lewelini bellica vice captus a David fratre suo.’

treacherously summoned him to a friendly council. Gruffydd had gone there under the conduct of Richard, Bishop of Bangor, and some other Welsh nobles; on account of which crime the said bishop left Wales, after excommunicating the said David. He now went to the King of England, and laid a severe complaint before him of this base crime, and earnestly entreated of the king to release Gruffydd, who was thus unjustly detained a prisoner by his nephew David. . . . The king therefore severely reproached his nephew David for his treachery, and ordered him to release his brother, and thus obtain a restoration of his good name, and absolution from the sentence of excommunication. This David obstinately refused to do, and told the king for certain that if he were to release Gruffydd, Wales would never after enjoy security and peace.

Gruffydd being informed of this, secretly sent word to the king, that if he would release him from prison, he would in future hold his territory from the king; that he would faithfully pay him two hundred marks annually for it with many thanks for his kind services; and he bound himself by oath to fulfil the same, giving him at the same time a special hostage. . . . Another most powerful Welsh chief, Gruffydd ap Madog,<sup>1</sup> also promised the king trusty and unwearied assistance, if he would invade Wales and make war against David, who was a false man and acted unjustly to many of them.

*Annales Cambriae.*

Henry, King of England, son of John, came with an army from the whole of England against North Wales. He advanced as far as Rhuddlan and sent messengers to David, son of Llywelyn, telling him to come to him and to bring with him Gruffydd his brother whom he held in prison; and as he

<sup>1</sup> Son of Madog ap Gruffydd; ruled the two Maelors of northern Powys; fought against David in 1241, for which he received a pension from Henry III; fought against Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, but later went over to his side.

could not resist the king, David broke up his camp at Degannwy and the district round, and at last came to the king with his brother Gruffydd, whom he handed over to the king together with all those who were imprisoned with him, all of whom the king took to London and had imprisoned there.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, i. 371-2).

1241. The king then led his army, which was numerous and of great strength, in good order, towards Chester, as if about to make war immediately. David, however, feared to encounter his violence, both because the heat, which had continued intense for four months, had dried up all the lakes and marshy places of Wales, and because many of the Welsh nobles, especially the powerful and prudent Gruffydd ap Madog, who had become a great ally of the king's, loved Gruffydd more than him, David, and also because he was lying under an anathema, and feared lest he should become still worse off ; he therefore sent word to the king that he would set Gruffydd at liberty, at the same time informing him with many reasonings, that if he did release him, he would excite renewed wars against him. David also imposed on the king the condition that he should receive him peaceably, on his binding himself by oath and by the giving of hostages, and that he would not deprive him of his inheritance. This the king kindly conceded, and David thereupon released his brother Gruffydd and sent him to the king, who, trusting to prudent advice, sent him, on his arrival, to London under the protection and conduct of John of Lexington, to be there kept in the Tower, with some other nobles of Wales, the hostages of David and other Welsh princes. All these events occurred between the day of the Nativity of St. Mary and Michaelmas Day.<sup>1</sup>

David had, as before stated, sworn to present himself before the king, saving his person and honour . . . at London or elsewhere, as the king should determine, and had given

<sup>1</sup> 8th September and 29th September.

hostages for the fulfilment of his promise : he accordingly came to the king, at London, on the eighth day after Michaelmas, and having sworn fealty and allegiance and all security and good faith, he was dismissed in peace, as he was so near a relation of the King,<sup>1</sup> and allowed to return home.

Henry thus, under God's favour, triumphed over his enemies, and subdued Wales without bloodshed, and without having to tempt the doubtful chances of war. Wales, in this case, discovered that the words of our Lord, mentioned in the Gospel, were not without truth ; namely that ' every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.'

## § 2. *The Submission of David to Henry III*

1241.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, i. 508-10, abridged).

**T**O all the faithful followers of Christ to whom these presents shall come, David, son of Llywelyn, greeting—Know that I have given my consent to my Lord the illustrious Henry, King of England, son of King John, that I will release my brother Gruffydd, whom I have imprisoned, together with his eldest son and others, who, by reason of the aforesaid Gruffydd, are detained in prison by me, and will give them up to my Lord, the king.

And I will afterwards abide by the decision of his court, both as to whether the said Gruffydd ought to be detained in prison, as well as with respect to the portion of the territory late of my father, the aforesaid Llywelyn, if any ought to belong to Gruffydd, according to the Welsh custom, in order that peace may be established and kept between me and the aforesaid Gruffydd.

And that I as well as the aforesaid Gruffydd will hold our portions of the said territory from our Lord the king in chief.

Also that I will restore to Roger de Montallt,<sup>2</sup> Seneschal of

<sup>1</sup> David's mother, Joan, was Henry's half-sister.

<sup>2</sup> Mold.

Chester, his territory of Montallt, with its appurtenances, and will restore to him, and to the other barons, and faithful subjects of the king, the seisins of the lands which have been occupied since the commencement of the war between his Majesty King John and my father the aforesaid Llywelyn.<sup>1</sup>

And I will also repay to my Lord the king all the expenses which he and his have incurred by reason of that war.

And I will also pay to my Lord the king all the homage which King John, his father, received, and which the said king ought to have, and especially the homage of the Welsh nobles.

Also that I will not henceforth receive outlaws or pirates of my Lord the king or his barons from the borders in my territory.

And for the faithful observance for ever of all and singular the above articles, to the king and his heirs, I will give security for myself and my heirs by hostages or pledges, or in any other way that the king may choose to dictate, and in these and in all other things I will abide by the will and command of my Lord the king, and obey the decision of his court in all things. In witness thereof I have to this present deed in writing set my seal. Done at Alnet near the River Elvey, in the diocese of St. Asaph, on the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist,<sup>2</sup> in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of our said Lord the king.

### § 3. *The Death of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, 1244*

*Mattew Paris* (ed. Bohn, i. 487).

WHILE the die of fortune thus affected the affairs of the world, Gruffydd the eldest son of Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, was still detained captive in the Tower of London, and every day received from the King's treasurer

<sup>1</sup> This and subsequent clauses deprived the Welsh prince of all conquests of Llywelyn the Great, and reduced Gwynedd to its own boundaries.

<sup>2</sup> 29th August.

half a mark to supply him with food, &c., according to his station. Though his wife had received permission to visit him, yet he was deeply affected by the tedious and unaccustomed long imprisonment, and meditated much how he could escape from his place of confinement. One night, then, having deceived his gaolers, and made a cord out of his sheets, tapesries, and table-cloths, he let himself down perpendicularly by means of this rope from the top of the Tower. And when he had thus descended some distance, from the weight of his body the cord snapped, and he fell from a great height; for he was a big man and very corpulent; and in this way he broke his neck and died. His pitiable corpse was found in the morning near the wall of the Tower, and afforded a lamentable spectacle to all who saw it, as his head, together with his neck, was almost buried in his breast between his shoulders. When the King heard of it, he scolded and punished the guards for their negligence, and ordered that the son<sup>1</sup> of the said Gruffydd, who had been incarcerated with his father, should be forthwith more narrowly guarded. The said Gruffydd, who fell from the Tower as has been stated, died on the 1st of March.<sup>2</sup>

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1244. That year Gruffydd ap Llywelyn attempted to escape from the king's prison in London, by throwing a rope through the window of the Tower and descending along the rope, but the rope breaking, he fell and broke his neck. And then David, son of Llywelyn, became enraged, and summoned all his good men to him, and attacked his foes,<sup>3</sup> and drove them from all

<sup>1</sup> Owain.

<sup>2</sup> *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 1248: ‘That year King Henry permitted the Abbot of Strata Florida and the Abbot of Aberconway to have the body of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, and they brought it with them from London to Aberconway, in which place he lies.’

<sup>3</sup> Professor Lloyd, Professor A. G. Little, &c., notice how excellent an illustration this is of Giraldus's statement that ‘brothers show more affection to brothers when dead than living, for they persecute the living even

their borders, except such as were in castles. And he sent messengers with letters, summoning to him all the princes of Wales, and everybody joined him, except Gruffydd ap Madog and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn and Morgan ap Howel; and to these he caused many losses, and compelled them against their will to submit to him.

*§ 4. How David sought to release himself from the English yoke*

1244.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, ii. 38-9).

DURING this time, David, Prince of North Wales, and nephew of the King of England, being in great dread of the anger of the said king, which was justly provoked against him, sent special messengers to the Pope, intimating to him, by them, that he resigned himself and all his territory to the Church of Rome, to be by it protected against the claim of the King of England, but to be held by him, the said David, and his heirs, for which tenure they would pay 500 marks annually. And on plea of justice, he, although not without great expenditure of money, obtained letters in this manner to the following effect.

THE LETTER (abridged)

‘To the illustrious Henry, &c. the Abbots of Aberconway and Cymer, of the Cistercian Order, inquisitors appointed by his holiness the Pope, Health in the Lord.

‘We have received a mandate from the Pope to the following purport :

“Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his unto death, but avenge the dead with all their power’. Of course the real reason was this: while Gruffydd was in the king’s hand and could be set up at any minute as his rival in Gwynedd, David was bound to be discreet, but the death of Gruffydd removed a great danger, and so David dared to be aggressive, and he chose the first possible moment to throw off the degrading conditions imposed on him in 1241.

well-beloved sons, the Abbots of Aberconway and Cymer, in the diocese of Bangor, Health and the apostolic benediction.

"It has been set forth to us, on behalf of David, Prince of North Wales, that whereas war has long existed between the said David and our well-beloved son in Christ, the King of England, even after a compromise had been made by the Bishop of St. Asaph and his colleagues, that both sides would bide by their decision on all matters of complaint, and yet the King, notwithstanding his oath, unexpectedly made war on the aforesaid Prince, and through force and fear, made him forgo what he and the King had sworn in the above matters. Therefore, as things which are done through fear, or by force, ought to be void of effect, we order you to examine diligently into the truth of this matter, and if you find the matter to be as stated above, to release the Prince from the observance of an oath thus extorted from him. Witness, &c. Given at Genoa, the 26th day of July, in the second year of our pontificate."

'We, therefore, on the strength of this authority, order you to appear before us at Caerwys, in the Church of Gustefend,<sup>1</sup> on the eve of St. Agnes the Virgin,<sup>2</sup> there to answer to the said Prince on the matters contained in the said warrant, as you shall see expedient.'

When this warrant came to the knowledge of the king and his nobles, . . . they were highly indignant, and persuaded the king not to attend to any such orders, urging him on to war and to attack the said David without delay. When the Pope heard of this, he winked at and concealed it all, but did not, however, restore David the present he had received from him.

### § 5. *Events in the War of 1245*

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, ii. 45-7).

IN this same Lent, three hundred Welsh and more were slain at Montgomery by the English under the command of the castellan of the castle of that place, who had cunningly placed

<sup>1</sup> Place not identified.

<sup>2</sup> 21st January.

an ambuscade in their rear, and then showing a semblance of alarm, retreated before the Welsh, when the English, who lay concealed, attacked them in the rear, and put them all to the sword.

In the same week David, wishing to redeem his losses, harassed the English by continued nightly incursions, and vigilantly employed himself in slaughter and rapine. But when the brave English knights on the border came to oppose them with the borderers subject to them, the Welsh, as was their custom, flew to the crags and inaccessible parts of the mountains, to lie in ambuscade for their passing enemies. From the summits of rocks they hurled stones and weapons, wounding many of the English; amongst others, one of the English nobles, named Herbert Fitz Matthew,<sup>1</sup> was overwhelmed by a mass of rock, which broke his neck and crushed him to death. . . .

The English were greatly grieved at this, and all the troops halted and buried his body with solemn rites. His death occurred on the morrow of the Purification of St. Mary.<sup>2</sup>

Other persons state that the said Herbert Fitz Matthew fell from his horse, and whilst he was still alive the Welsh came up and contended with one another as to whose captive he ought to be, for the sake of the ransom. At last one of them, wishing to put an end to the strife, ran Herbert through the body from behind, saying, ‘Now, whoever chooses may take him.’ . . .

The Welsh were much inspirited by this event, and indulged more daringly than usual in destroying their enemies, and frequently got the upper hand in their incursions. . . . David, with some of his companions, . . . laid siege to Montallt,<sup>3</sup> which he took in a short time, and, after putting to death or

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Fitz Matthew was the leader of an expedition sent by Henry before he realized the seriousness of this revolt.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd February; Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary is 2nd February.

<sup>3</sup> See note, p. 147.

bringing over to his own side all whom he found there, enjoyed his triumph at his pleasure. But the lord of the castle, Roger of Montallt, they did not find there, because he had betaken himself to a place of safety. From that time the war became a most bloody one, neither party showing respect to sex, age, or rank, but involving all alike in one common destruction.

### § 6. *A Letter from the Front*

1245.

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv.

**O**N the 24th of September, when the king had been staying for almost two months on the farthest borders of Wales at the river flowing between the mountains of Snowdon, building a castle impregnable in its site and fortifications, a certain nobleman of his army, wishing to inform his friends who were anxious about him of this, wrote to them as follows :

‘ Greeting. The Lord King is staying with his army at Degannwy to strengthen a certain castle which he has now made very strong there, and we live round it in our tents in watching, fasting, and praying, in cold and want of clothing. In watching for fear of the Welsh attacking us suddenly in the night. In fasting because of the lack of food, for a farthing loaf now costs five pence. In praying that we may soon return safe and sound to our own homes. In cold and want of clothing because our houses are of canvas and we lack our winter clothes.

‘ But there is a small arm of the sea beneath the castle where we are staying, like a port, where the sea ebbs and flows, into which ships have often come while we have been here bringing provisions from Ireland and from Chester. And this inlet is between us and Snowdonia where the Welsh live now, and, when the tide is in, is about a cross-bow shot across. But on the Monday before Michaelmas, late in the afternoon, a ship from Ireland, bringing us food for sale, was coming towards the entrance of the port, but being carelessly steered, as the sea receded it remained aground beneath our castle,

but on the opposite bank near the Welsh, who, hastening to it, beset it on the dry sand. Seeing this from the nearer bank, we sent across the water in small boats three hundred of our Welsh borderers from Chester and Shrewsbury, and with them cross-bowmen and armed knights to defend the said ship. When the Welsh saw this, they betook themselves hurriedly to their haunts and well-known hiding-places in their woods and mountains. Our knights, accompanied by their men, followed them for a distance of two leagues, although they were on foot, not having taken their horses across the water with them, and wounded and slew many of the Welsh. Our men, therefore, returned as victors over the enemy, and, like greedy and needy men, spreading plunder, pillage, and fire in the districts across the water. Amongst other sacrilegious deeds they irreverently despoiled an abbey of the Cistercians at Aberconway of all its property, even to the chalices and books, and burnt the buildings belonging to it.

‘ Meanwhile the Welsh, having collected a large number of their countrymen, suddenly rushed with loud howls on our men, who were laden with booty thus wickedly obtained and impeded by their sins, and put them to flight, wounding and killing many of them as they were fleeing miserably towards the ship. Some of our men, preferring to be overcome by the waves and to die by drowning to being killed at the will of their enemies, threw themselves of their own accord into the sea to perish. The Welsh took some of our knights alive to imprison them, but having heard that we had killed some of their nobles, and particularly, Naveth,<sup>1</sup> son of Odo, a very courteous and brave youth, they hanged our knights, cutting off their heads and dismembering them horribly; and finally they threw their wretched bodies, limb by limb, into the river, in detestation of their wicked avarice in not sparing the church, especially one belonging to monks.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lloyd suggests that this strange name is the English soldier’s attempt at Ednyfed Fychan.

‘But there fell in that fight on our side of the retinue of Richard Earl of Cornwall certain bráve knights, namely Sir Alan Buscel, Sir Adam de Moia, Sir Geoffrey Sturmay, and a fourth, a certain Raymond, a Gascon cross-b Bowman at whom the King used often to poke fun. About one hundred retainers were killed, beside those drowned, but just as many of the Welsh, or more.

‘Meanwhile, Sir Walter Biset with his men was aboard the ship, which he defended bravely until the middle of the night, in constant conflict with the Welsh who attacked fiercely from all sides, and, if our men had not had the sides of the ship for a wall, they would have all fallen into the hands of the enemy. At last the tide rising and the ship floating and becoming inaccessible, the Welsh withdrew, grieving that our men had been snatched from their hands. But on board the ship were sixty casks of wine as well as other much desired and needed provisions, of which we were at that time destitute. So, when morning came and the water retreated, the Welsh quickly returned, trusting to have seized our men in the ship. But, by God’s mercy, they had escaped to us in our little boats during the night while the tide was high, before the return of the Welsh, leaving only the ship. So the Welsh came and carried off nearly all the wine and the other things they found in it, but withdrew again as the tide rose, having set fire to the ship and destroyed half of it. The other part is saved with seven of the casks, which we dragged to the near shore.

‘But while we have made this stay here with the army, being in need of many things, we have often gone out armed, exposed to many dangers, to procure necessaries, encountering many ambuscades and assaults from the Welsh, bravely bearing losses, but more often, by the changing fortune of war, bringing losses to the enemy. After one fight, we brought back in triumph to the camp the heads of nearly one hundred decapitated Welshmen. At that time there was such a scarcity of provisions and such a lack of all necessaries, that we suffered

an irremediable loss of men and horses. There was a time when there was no wine at all even in the King's house, or, as a matter of fact, in the whole army, except one single barrel : a measure of corn cost twenty shillings ; a pasture ox three or four marks ; and a hen eight pence. So men and horses wasted away and many died from hunger.'

On the morrow of the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude,<sup>1</sup> the king being unable, as well as unwilling, to make any longer stay at Degannwy, owing to the want of provisions and the near approach of winter, after a stay of about ten weeks there, fortified and stored his aforesaid castle of Degannwy which he had built, and made preparations to return to England, in order that he and his army might recover health. He was now thoroughly convinced of the irreparable ruin of his enemies the Welsh ; for, on his arrival, the Irish had ravaged the whole of Anglesey, which is, as it were, the protectress and place of refuge for all the Welsh ; and at his departure, he cruelly put to the sword and reduced to ashes everybody and everything which remained there ; so much so, that the whole country seemed reduced to one vast and uncultivated desert solitude. . . . He also prohibited, under pain of death and loss of property, any provisions from being brought, or allowed to be brought, for sale from the English or Irish provinces. This castle of Deganinwy, too, well supplied with men, provisions, engines of war, and arms, was, as it were, a thorn in the eye of the wretched, yea, most wretched Welsh, who could not, by any means, pass into England without being intercepted by the castellans, . . . nor could they stay in their own country for the famine.

### § 7. *The Death of David, 1246*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE ensuing year was very rainy. David ap Llywelyn died at Aber in the month of March, and was buried with his fathers at Aberconway. And since he had no issue of

<sup>1</sup> 28th October.

his body, his nephews Owain the Red and Llywelyn, the sons of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, his brother, reigned after him. These princes, by the advice of good men, divided their dominion between them into two halves.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, ii. 140-1).

About the commencement of spring in this year, when those about to engage in war are usually more prompt than usual in making the necessary preparations, David, Prince of North Wales and nephew of the king on his sister's side, a perjured man and a fratricide, as if worn out by various troubles, departed from this valley of mortals to the vale of death, after enduring innumerable sorrows of mind, seeing the destruction of his territory, and witnessing the various slaughters and sufferings of his subjects from hunger, and even now leaving Wales in a disturbed and wretchedly desolate condition. In his stead the Welsh elected the son of Gruffydd<sup>1</sup> as their chief. When he heard of this he at once left the King of England, and took sudden flight, like a hare, to the lurking places of the Welsh, although the said king had received him in the bosom of his compassion, had honourably brought him up for a length of time past, and raised him to rank.

<sup>1</sup> This was Owain the Red, eldest son of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, who had been under the protection of the king since 1241, at first as a prisoner, afterwards more or less as a guest.

## LLYWELYN EIN LLYW OLAF, 1246-82

§ I. *Early Years, 1246-55*

## THE MISERABLE CONDITION OF WALES

1247.

*Matthew Paris* (ed. Bohn, ii. 244-5).

WALES at this time was in a most straitened condition, and, owing to the cessation of agriculture, commerce, and the tending of flocks, the inhabitants began to waste away through want; unwillingly, too, did they bend to the yoke of the English laws; their ancient pride of nobility faded, and even the harp of the ecclesiastics was turned to grief and lamentation. The Bishop of Menevia, or St. Davids,<sup>1</sup> died as though he pined away from grief, and William, Bishop of Llandaff,<sup>2</sup> was struck with blindness.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1252. The ensuing year, the heat of the sun was so great that all the earth became so dry therefrom, that no fruit grew on the trees or fields, and neither fish of the sea nor of the rivers was obtained. And at the end of the harvest of that year, so great were the rains that the floods covered the face of the earth, since the excessive dryness of the earth would not absorb the water. The rivers flooded so that the bridges and mills and the houses adjoining the rivers were broken, and the woods and orchards stripped, besides many other losses during the summer.

*Matthew Paris.*

1254. About this time Edward was sent in great pomp and splendour to Alphonso, King of Spain, by whom he was received with all honour and respect. At Burgos he was united in marriage to the king's young sister, Eleanor, and

<sup>1</sup> Anselm, nicknamed 'the Fat', 1230-47.<sup>2</sup> William de Burgh, 1244-53.

received the honour of knighthood from the king himself, who was well pleased with the handsome appearance and conduct of the young Prince. Edward then returned to his father with his newly married wife, and was received with the greatest rejoicings, as though he had been an angel from God. . . . The King of England then at once gave to his son and his wife the provinces of Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stanford, and Graham.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1255. In those days, by the instigation of the Devil a great quarrel arose between the sons of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, namely Owain the Red and David on the one side and Llywelyn on the other side, and thereupon Llywelyn and his men awaited without fear, confiding in God, at Bryn Derwyn, the cruel coming of his brothers with a vast army; and before the end of an hour Owain the Red was taken and David fled, after many of the army had been killed, and others captured, and the other party had taken flight. And then Owain the Red was imprisoned, and Llywelyn took possession of the territory of Owain and David without any opposition.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. *The Consolidation of Llywelyn's Power*

### THE MISRULE OF PRINCE EDWARD AND HIS OFFICERS

1256.

*Matthew Paris.*

ABOUT All Saints' Day the Welsh, who had been oppressed in manifold ways, and often sold to the highest bidder, were at last so outrageously and tyrannically oppressed by the king's agent, Geoffrey Langley, knight, that they roused themselves for the defence of their country and the observance of their laws. Entering into a confederacy,

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of the decisive victory which made Llywelyn supreme in Gwynedd is not known. It was probably in or near Clynnog. See Professor Lloyd's *History of Wales*, p. 715.

they invaded the provinces of England adjoining Wales, and attacked the subjects of Edward, their lord, whom however they did not then acknowledge as such ; and they succeeded so well in their warlike expedition, that it was believed that they had the good will of the neighbouring people. On hearing of this, Edward flew to the bosom of his uncle Richard, because the king had become inglorious and poor, and borrowed four thousand marks from him, being determined to check the impetuous rashness of the Welsh, to punish their presumption, and to wage war against them to their extermination. But the whole of the winter of that year was so wet and stormy, that the entire country of Wales, which was without roads and of a marshy nature, was utterly inaccessible to the English, and thus Edward's labour and expenditure of money were fruitless and of no avail. . . .

Edward's retainers and followers disturbed the peace of the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, by plundering their possessions as well as abusing their persons, and that by his permission, to such an extent that the injuries perpetrated by the King, his father, were considered trivial when compared with those committed by him. For the ruffians and robbers, whom he kept in his court, spread themselves far and wide, and forcibly seized and carried off the horses and carts of traders and the provisions of the inhabitants.

### A WELSH ACCOUNT OF THE SAME

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

1256. The ensuing year, Edward, son of King Henry, Earl of Chester, came in August next after that, to take a survey of his castles and lands in Gwynedd. And then about August, and after he had returned to England, the nobles of Wales, having been robbed of their liberty and made captives, came to Llewelyn ap Gruffydd and complainingly declared to him that they would rather be killed in war for their liberty than

suffer themselves to be trodden down in bondage by strangers.<sup>1</sup> And Llywelyn was moved by their tears; and by their incitement and advice he, with Maredudd, son of Rhys the Hoarse, invaded Perfeddwlad, and subdued it all before the end of the week. And then he took Meirionydd to himself; and that part of Ceredigion which belonged to Edward he gave to Maredudd, son of Owain, son of Gruffydd, with Builth in addition, and he restored to Maredudd, son of Rhys the Hoarse, his territory by expelling his nephew, Rhys, retaining nothing to himself of all the conquered lands other than fame as reward.<sup>2</sup> And afterwards he wrested Gwerthrynnion from Roger Mortimer, and held it in his own hand.

### § 3. *Llywelyn's Victories*

1257.

*Annales Cambriae* (abbreviated).

AFTER Epiphany, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd entered Powys against the sons of Gwenwynwyn, and occupying Welshpool, burnt the whole town, and summoned to his aid there two lords from South Wales, Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg and Maredudd ab Owain. And from beyond the Severn, near Montgomery, there gathered many English barons, namely John Lestrange, Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, John Fitz Alan, and many others with the standard of Lord Edward and a well-armed force. The English army came across the Severn and took their position in a great field between

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matthew Paris, who says the Welsh 'had sworn on the gospels boldly and faithfully to fight to the death for the liberty of their country and the laws of their ancestors, declaring they would rather die with honour than drag on an unhappy life in disgrace. This manly and brave determination might justly shame the English, who lazily bent their necks to foreigners, and to every one that trampled on them, like vile and timid rabble, the scum of the human race'.

<sup>2</sup> He hoped that the loyal, if interested, support of the princes would be his reward.

the Severn and the Aberrhiw. But the Welsh, seeing the English prepared for war, were very indignant and entered the field with countless forces. When the English saw the strong Welsh army boldly occupying the field, they were terrified and took to flight, running as far as Montgomery. . . .

But the said Llywelyn, after that, during the next Lent came with a great army to the land of Kidwelly, Carnwyllion, and Gower, burnt the English part of the said lands and Swansea altogether, and subjected all the Welsh of those lands to him, and returned before Easter to his own part with great joy. . . . Also, in those days, certain nobles belonging to the household of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, had, before Palm Sunday, burnt the town of Montgomery, namely the castle of Balwy, and slain with fire and sword Baldwin and many others of that town with women and little children. . . .

*Matthew Paris.*

At this time the Welsh carried fire and slaughter into the provinces of Wales bordering on England, and, fortune favouring them, they compelled the English to retreat. . . . All this irreparable injury was caused by the tyrannical cruelty and insatiable avarice of Geoffrey Langley,<sup>1</sup> who had severely oppressed the Welsh. . . . But the earl,<sup>2</sup> on being elected King of Germany, wrote in friendly terms to Llywelyn and the other leaders of the Welsh army, begging them, for the sake of the quiet of the kingdom, to desist from their hostile incursions, lest he should be disturbed in his affairs, and should be unable to leave the kingdom. The Welsh, however, seeing that the rainy season suited their plans and had already made the roads across the marshes impassable, would not desist from their aggressions, but harassed their enemies the more vigorously. . . . Edward therefore complained to his father of this act of presumption on the part of the Welsh, and the king

<sup>1</sup> Prince Edward's chief officer in Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III.

was reported to have given him the following answer : ‘ What is it to me ? I made you a gift of the land. Exert your powers for the first time, and win fame in your youth, that your enemies may fear you for the future. As for me, I am occupied with other business.’

*Matthew Paris.*

1257. The king issued his warrants throughout all England, calling on each and every one who owed knightly service to their lord king to be ready, provided with horses and arms, to follow him into Wales, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen,<sup>1</sup> for he was going thither on an expedition to check their violence, as they were roving about at will, seizing the castles of the Marcher Lords, and even those of the English, with impunity, putting the garrisons to death, and spreading fire, slaughter, and incendiarism in all directions.

The Welsh, learning that the king intended to take the field against them with his army, prudently sent away their wives, children, and flocks into the interior of the country, about Snowdon and other mountainous places inaccessible to the English, ploughed up their fields, destroyed the mills along the road which the English would take, carried away all kinds of provisions, broke down the bridges, and made the fords impassable by digging holes, in order that, if the enemy attempted to cross, they might be drowned. Fortune favoured them in this war ; for their cause appeared, even to their enemies, to be just. . . .<sup>2</sup> Far from showing obedience to the king’s son, Edward, they only ridiculed and heaped insults and derision upon him, and he, in consequence, conceived the idea of giving up Wales and the Welsh as untamable.

<sup>1</sup> 22nd July.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast the attitude of the chronicler to the Welsh in this war with his opinion of David ap Llywelyn and his war.

§ 4. *Expedition of Henry III against the Welsh, 1257*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THAT year, about the feast<sup>1</sup> of St. Mary in August, King Henry came with a large army to Degannwy, and there he tarried until the feast<sup>2</sup> of St. Mary in September, and then he returned to England.

*Matthew Paris.*

About the same time, which was harvest season, the king, accompanied by a large army, approached Chester, and to prevent the Welsh from finding food thereabouts, his followers laid waste the rich and abundant crops of corn and other produce of the earth, to the injury of themselves as well as others. As a result, in a short time provisions became so dear amongst the army, that horses as well as men suffered great want. In the meantime the king, in order to plunge the Welsh, whom he called traitors and enemies to him, into an abyss of despair, sent to Scotland and Ireland and to other countries for a large body of troops, for the purpose of hedging in the Welsh and of crushing them like potter's vessels. Llywelyn then, by the advice of his nobles, sent special messengers to the king and begged for peace, on the condition, however, that 'they should retain their ancestral laws and liberties in peace, . . . that they should not be bound to account for their actions to Edward, or to any one else but the king', for . . . 'they would no longer be given away or sold like oxen or asses'. But the king would not listen to their humble entreaties or moderate message, but encouraged his soldiers to fight, and . . . went forth day after day . . . like a dragon which knows not how to spare any one, and threatened the Welsh with extermination.

About the same time the king, finding that the war went against him, that provisions became dearer and more scarce every day, and those who had promised him help did not

<sup>1</sup> The Assumption of the Virgin Mary, 15th August.

<sup>2</sup> The Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8th September.

come, and also that the inclement weather of winter was coming on, made preparations to return to England as Michaelmas drew near, and directed his march ingloriously towards London.

§ 5. *The lesser Welsh Princes do Homage to Llywelyn  
1258.*

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE ensuing year, a body of the nobles of Wales made an oath of fidelity to Llywelyn ap Gruffydd under pain of excommunication.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. *The Barons and the Lords Marchers  
1263.*

AT that time Edward was traversing the region of Gwynedd and burning some of the towns. After that he returned to England.<sup>2</sup> Then, by the instigation of the devil, David forsook the society of his brother, Llywelyn, and went to England with some of his confederates. At that time the barons of England and some earls rose with the Welsh against Edward and the foreigners, purposing to expel them from amongst them, and out of all England, to subdue the strong cities, and to destroy the castles that were in Gwynedd in his territory.

*Continuation of Matthew Paris.*

1264. At this time Roger Mortimer, a partisan of the king's, rose against the Earl of Leicester, and pillaged his lands and farms. The chief of the barons' party, however,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lloyd points out that by this time 'Every Welsh Prince except Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn' was on his side, and that it was probably at this time, when he was turning allies into feudal vassals, that he took the title of 'Prince of Wales', the title being recognized by the English in the Treaty of Montgomery, 1267.

<sup>2</sup> Edward does not seem to have cared much about his Welsh possessions, and he did very little during this expedition beyond giving temporary relief to some of his castellans.

having formed a friendship and alliance with Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, sent a considerable army to that quarter which invaded the territory of the said Roger, and destroyed and burned his property. At the same time Edward besieged the castles of Hay and Huntington,<sup>1</sup> held by Humphrey de Bohun ; he also took the castles of Brecknock, and delivered all of them into the custody of the said Roger.

*Flores Historiarum.*

1264. The Lords Marchers of Wales, by name Roger Mortimer, James of Audley, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyburn, Hamo Lestrange, and the knights of Turberville, with many others who had lately escaped from the battle of Lewes before mentioned, having assembled their forces, stirred up war in the Marches and endeavoured to resist the barons. Therefore, Simon de Montfort, having united himself in friendship with Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, went into those countries with a large army and entered the castles of Hereford and Hay, giving up all the territories, estates, and domains of Roger Mortimer to fire and devastation in every direction. But Hugh Mortimer<sup>2</sup> was compelled to surrender himself to the barons, giving up his castle, which is called Richard's Castle, and his other estates to guardianship, and entrusting them to John Fitz John ; and the castle of Ludlow was also surrendered. From thence the united army of English and Welsh advanced to Montgomery, where the aforesaid Roger and James made a deceitful peace (as it turned out afterwards) with the barons, giving and receiving hostages on both sides.

William Rishanger, *De Bellis Lewes et Evesham*, Camden Society edition (abridged).

1264. The Marcher Lords, who have been mentioned above, rising in rebellion after their usual practice, broke the treaty of peace, and utterly disregarded the agreement made ; while the Earl of Leicester with an armed force was coming to the

<sup>1</sup> On the western border of Herefordshire, south of Kington.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Roger.

March as has been said, they overran the provinces on both sides of the Severn with their army, which was always accustomed to rapine and plunder, and excited the people of the district to such a degree of fear and terror, that when the soldiers drew near, the country people fled to the churches and made homes in the cemeteries and hid themselves. The chief author of this evil was Hamo Lestrange, a man most noted for his plunder. . . .

The aforesaid Marcher Lords, although they were few in number, yet presuming on their courage, returned with their men beyond the river Severn and broke the strong bridge at Worcester, and the rest of the bridges. But they laboured in vain to resist so many nobles, and especially that most noble warrior, Simon de Montfort. Moreover, Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, at the instance of the Earl of Leicester, had already advanced beyond his own borders, and was ready to attack them in the rear, and so they were forced to come to terms of peace.

### § 7. *Capture of Monmouth and Newport*

1265.

*Flores Historiarum.*

ON the Thursday of Whitsun Week the eldest son of the king went out into the fields about Hereford with his guards and comrades to take exercise, and then, when they had all mounted their chargers and fatigued them with galloping, he mounted a horse of his own which was not tired, and requesting leave of his companions, though he did not obtain it, he went with all speed to the Lord Roger Mortimer at Wigmore. And the next day the Earls of Gloucester and Warrenne, with their followers, met Edward at Ludlow, and forgetting all their mutual injuries and quarrels, and renewing their friendship, they proceeded with courage and alacrity to break down the bridges and sink the ferryboats on the Severn.

*Annales Cambriae.*

1265. The said Earl of Leicester took the town and castle of Monmouth, and the castle of Usk, and destroyed the castle and bridge of Newport.

Thomas Wykes, *Chronicle* (slightly abridged).

1265. But the Earl of Leicester, having left Hereford, retired to Monmouth, where, after he had pitched his tents before the town, he was so much annoyed by John Giffard,<sup>1</sup> who daily challenged him to fight, that he decided to retire from that place. Coming to the castle of Hulkes, which was the property of the Earl of Gloucester, and finding in it few defenders, he occupied it, though the Earl of Gloucester retaliated by recapturing it within three days. But the Earl of Leicester, proceeding to a certain seaport town which is called Newport, and belonged to the Earl of Gloucester by hereditary right, occupied it without any opposition, and sent messengers to the men of Bristol, telling them to send across to Newport, without delay, all the transport ships which they had been able to obtain, so that he and the king and the force which he had with him might cross by sea to Bristol. This became known to the Earl of Gloucester, who placed three pirate ships (commonly called galleys) which he had at the entrance to the harbour where Simon's ships would have to approach, placing on them a strong force of soldiers in addition to the sailors. These, seeing the fleet coming from Bristol, fell upon them very fiercely, and either captured or sank eleven ships and forced the others to retreat at great risk.

The Earl of Gloucester and Lord Edward, glorying in such a great victory, marched to the fight in the direction of the bridge which leads into the town, so that, having effected an entry, they might fight with the enemy in the town. But the latter, after an encounter on the middle of the bridge, seeing

<sup>1</sup> Giffard was one of those barons who had been on Simon's side at first. He had a great reputation as a soldier.

they could not resist and that they were hurled back into the town, burnt the part of the bridge which lay nearest to the town by throwing torches, so that they might cheat the pursuing enemy of the desired entry.

As our men were returning to the camp, the Earl of Leicester, after retiring secretly and silently at dead of night from the abandoned town, led his army into the land of the Prince of Wales, to whom, in return for help, he handed over five of the royal castles. . . . and, by an illegal presumption, granted a charter, that he would restore to the prince all the lands which his predecessors claimed by ancient right, signing it with the royal seal.

But the English soldiers, being accustomed to bread, could not do without it when they were in the land of the Welsh, with nothing but meat or milk food on which that savage people is used to feed. On this account, they turned back toward Hereford, crossing the wooded districts and inaccessible ways through the forests with considerable danger. . . .

### § 8. *The Battle of Evesham*

1265.

Rishanger, *De Bellis Lewes et Evesham.*

THE Welsh, who were with him<sup>1</sup> in great numbers, took to flight from the beginning, like sheep, and hiding in cornfields and gardens, and fleeing through the country round about, were afterwards found and slain.

### § 9. *Henry III and Llywelyn become Friends*

1267.

*Flores Historiarum.*

THE same year, King Henry coming to Montgomery in Wales with the legate,<sup>2</sup> at the request of the aforesaid legate granted the district which the Welsh call the Four Barriers,<sup>3</sup> to Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, receiving for

<sup>1</sup> That is with Simon de Montfort at Evesham. They composed a great part of his infantry, but being unused to fighting set battles on open plains, they were worse than useless.   <sup>2</sup> Cardinal Ottobon.   <sup>3</sup> Perfeddwlad.

it thirty-two thousand marks; and so the King of England and Llywelyn became friends. For before they were deadly enemies to one another.

### § 10. *The Treaty of Montgomery, 1267*

Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. i, Pt. 1, p. 474.

THE letter of Ottobon, Legate of the Apostolic See, concerning the peace made between the King of England and Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, in which the king grants to the said Llywelyn and his heirs the principality of Wales, that they might be called 'Princes of Wales', and that the said Llywelyn and his heirs shall do homage to the King of England. (Abridged.)

Ottobon, by divine mercy, Cardinal Deacon of St. Adrian and Legate of the Apostolic See, for a permanent record relates what had been arranged.

Lord Henry, the renowned King of the English, for himself, his heirs, and his followers on the one side, and the noble chief, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, for himself, his successors and followers on the other, have arrived at this peace and agreement on all the quarrels and dissensions between them and on all the injuries and wrongs which have occurred on both sides:

1. All ill-feeling, insults, losses, wrongs suffered and inflicted by both sides are mutually forgotten and forgiven.
2. Therefore Llywelyn and his men restore to the king and his servants all the possessions, lands, rights seized by him and his men on the occasion of the last outbreak of war between the Welsh and the English, except the lands of Brycheiniog and Gwerthryniog. But concerning this land and the others which Llywelyn shall restore or keep, let justice be done according to the customs observed heretofore in the Marches. Also seisin and possession of the land of Builth<sup>1</sup> shall remain

<sup>1</sup> Rymer has 'Burget', but Builth is probably meant. On this point, see Lloyd's *History of Wales*, ii. 740, n. 118. Abergavenny has been suggested with less probability.

to Llywelyn, to whom the king grants and gives the right which he has in it.

8. On the other hand, the Lord King of England, wishing to enhance the personal greatness of the said Llywelyn, and in him to honour others who shall succeed him by hereditary right, simply out of his kindness and generosity and with the free will and consent of Lord Edward, his eldest son, grants to the aforesaid Llywelyn and his heirs the Principality of Wales, and that the same Llywelyn and his heirs shall be called 'Princes of Wales'.

9. And let them also receive the fealty and homage of all the Welsh barons of Wales, so that the said barons shall hold their lands in chief of the said Llywelyn and his heirs, saving the homage of the nobleman, Maredudd ap Rhys, the homage and overlordship of whom the king shall retain for himself and his heirs, with the whole of his land which the said prince shall restore to him or cause to be restored at once by his men.

11. But concerning David, brother of the said Prince Llywelyn, it is especially decreed that the said Llywelyn shall restore to him all the land which the said David held before he left his side and joined the Lord King. And if David is not content with this, an increased provision shall be made for him as Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, Gruffydd ap Madog, Hywel ap Madog, Owain ap Bleddy, and Tudur ab Ednyfed shall say and ordain. If David is not content with this let him make an appeal for what he wants, concerning which appeal let justice be done him according to the laws and customs of Wales, in the presence of one or two witnesses whom the Lord King shall be pleased to send to see what and how justice is done him. . . .

12. The Lord King also gives and grants to the said Prince Llywelyn and his heirs the four cantreds of Perfeddwlad<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The district between the rivers Conway and Clwyd, claimed by Welsh and English, and constantly changing hands, according to the changing fortunes of the two races.

to have and to hold as fully as he and his predecessors ever held them.

13. In return for which principality, lands, services, &c., the said Prince Llywelyn and his heirs shall be bound to do and perform the fealty, homage, and services which he and his predecessors were wont to do.

17. In return for all these concessions and gifts, and so that the said Prince Llywelyn may secure more fully the goodwill of the king and his sons, let him be bound to pay 25,000 marks to the king and his heirs for himself and his heirs. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Drawn up at Shrewsbury in the year of our Lord 1267, on the Sunday next before the feast of St. Michael, in the third year of the pontificate of Pope Clement IV.

### § 11. *Growing Hostility between Llywelyn and Edward*

1275.

*Brut y Tywysogion*

THAT year about the feast of St. Mary in September,<sup>2</sup> King Edward came from London to Chester, and summoned to him Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Prince of Wales, to do him homage. And the Prince summoned to him all the barons of Wales, and, by general consent, he did not go to the king, because the king harboured his fugitives, namely David ap Gruffydd and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn. And on that account the king returned to England in anger, and Llywelyn returned to Wales. . . .

That year, after the feast of St. Michael, Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort, with Eleanor, his sister,<sup>3</sup> sailed for Gwy-

<sup>1</sup> There follow a good many details as to when and where and by what instalments the 25,000 marks were to be paid, and as to penalties for non-payment.

<sup>2</sup> The Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8th September.

<sup>3</sup> Ten years before this Simon de Montfort had proposed to marry his daughter to the Prince of Wales, but the matter had been dropped.

nedd. And upon that journey they were seized by the harbour-keepers of Haverford and conveyed to the prison of King Edward. And this Eleanor had been betrothed to Llywelyn for his wife by representative words.<sup>1</sup>

### § 12. *The Campaign of 1276-7*

1276.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE ensuing year the Lord Llywelyn sent frequent messages to the court of the king about forming a peace between them, but he did not succeed. And at length, about the feast of Candlemas,<sup>2</sup> the king appointed a council at Worcester, and there he designed three armies against Wales: one for Chester and himself to lead it; another for Castle Baldwin, led by the Earl of Lincoln<sup>3</sup> and Roger Mortimer. . . . The third army he sent to Carmarthen and Ceredigion, led by Pain,<sup>4</sup> son of Patrick de Says.

*Flores Historiarum.*

1277. In the fortnight after Easter the king withdrew from Westminster and hastened towards Wales with all the military force of the kingdom of England, taking with him his barons of the Exchequer and his justices of the King's Bench as far as Shrewsbury, who remained there some time, hearing suits according to the customs of the kingdom of England.

Therefore the Welsh, fearing the arrival of the king and his army, fled to their accustomed refuge of Snowdon, and the king, relying on the assistance of the Cinque Ports,<sup>5</sup> occupied their territories as far as the mountain of Snowdon in every

<sup>1</sup> Before leaving France, Eleanor was married by proxy to Llywelyn. Eleanor was imprisoned at Windsor and her brother at Corfe.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd February.

<sup>3</sup> Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and of Salisbury by right of his wife, was a great friend of Edward I.

<sup>4</sup> Pain, son of Patrick de Says, Pain de Chaworth of Kidwelly.

<sup>5</sup> Certain ports, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hastings, Hythe, &c., which, in return for special privileges of trade and self-government, had to supply the king with ships when he wanted them for war.

direction. Therefore, Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, understanding that his manors and castles were being given to the flames and destroyed, took to himself the most powerful chiefs of his country, and about the feast of the Nativity of our Lord went to the king, entreating him to show mercy and not justice. Accordingly, King Edward received homage and fealty from the most powerful chiefs of the Welsh, and took their Prince Llywelyn with him to Westminster. The king received from him fifty thousand marks in hand, and made a covenant with him for a thousand marks a year to be paid into the Exchequer at Westminster for the Isle of Anglesey and the district of Snowdon; and then he permitted the said prince to return to those parts, after having carefully instructed him in his duty, deprived him and his successors for ever of the title of Prince, and reserved for himself and his heirs all the Welsh territories which he had recently conquered.<sup>1</sup>

*Brut y Tywysogion* (abbreviated).

1277. The ensuing year the Earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer besieged the castle of Dolforwyn,<sup>2</sup> and at the end of a fortnight they obtained it through want of water. Then Rhys ap Maredudd ab Owain ap Gruffydd, son of the Lord Rhys (and others), became reconciled to Pain, son of Patrick. . . . And thus all South Wales became subjected to the king. Then Pain, son of Patrick, subjugated to the king the three comots of Upper Aeron. . . . The same year, the feast<sup>3</sup> of St. James the Apostle, Edmund, the king's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle at Aberystwyth. And then the king with his force came to Perfeddwlod and fortified a castle at Flint, surrounding it with vast dykes. From thence he proceeded to Rhuddlan, and this he also fortified by surrounding it with dykes, and there he tarried some time. . . . That year in the beginning of harvest the king

<sup>1</sup> These terms were agreed upon in the Treaty of Conway, 1277.

<sup>2</sup> At Abermule in the district of Cydewain.

<sup>3</sup> July 25.

sent a great part of his army into Mona, and burned much of the country and took away much of the corn. And on the calends of winter after that, Llywelyn came to the king at Rhuddlan and made his peace with him, and then the king invited him to come to London at Christmas, and then he did his homage to the king. And after he had remained in London a fortnight, he returned to Wales.

### § 13. *The Marriage of Llywelyn*

1278.

*Brut y Tywysogion.*

THE ensuing year, the feast<sup>1</sup> of St. Edward the King, King Edward and Edmund his brother bestowed their cousin Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, . . . on Llywelyn, at the door of the great church at Worcester, and there they were married, and the next day Llywelyn and Eleanor joyfully returned to Wales.<sup>2</sup>

Warrington's *History of Wales*, Appendix, p. 565.

When the king invited the prince to his feast at Worcester, promising with very fair words that he would give his kinswoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honour; nevertheless, when he came thither, the selfsame day they should be married, before mass, the king required a bill to be sealed by the prince, containing, amongst other things, that he would never keep man against the king's will, nor ever maintain any, whereby it might come to pass that all the prince's force should be called from him. The which letter sealed, he delivered to the king by just fear, which might move any constant man; yet was this not contained in the peace, whereas the conclusion of the peace was that the king should require nothing that was not required in the same.

<sup>1</sup> March 18.

<sup>2</sup> Having made Llywelyn come to Worcester to receive 'his beloved spouse, for whose loving embraces he had so long yearned', Edward took the opportunity to exact further concessions of which Llywelyn complained bitterly.

§ 14. *Edward's Second Expedition and End of  
the Principality*

*Flores Historiarum.*

A. D. 1282, which is the tenth year of the reign of Edward, at the dead hour of night, on Palm Sunday, Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, and David, his brother, surrounded the castles of Rhuddlan and Flint with a large army, and destroyed such other castles of the king as they could effect an entrance into, and having wounded, taken prisoner, and loaded with chains, that noble and illustrious knight, the Lord Roger Clifford, after having first slain all his friends, they sent him across, suddenly and unexpectedly, to the mountain of Snowdon, slaying all they met with, young and old, women and children, in their beds, and devastating afterwards with plunder and conflagration the greater part of the Marches. The king, hearing of this, but scarcely believing it, sent the barons of his Exchequer and the justices of the King's Bench to Shrewsbury to compel the observance of the laws of his kingdom, and having assembled an army, he reduced all Wales towards the mountains of Snowdon under his authority, and he gave large portions of the territory which he acquired there to his earls and barons, and to others of his faithful adherents, to be possessed for ever by them and their heirs. And accordingly, many thousands of soldiers were sent to the assistance of the king from Guienne and the Basque provinces and other foreign countries; therefore the king, wishing to advance farther, and supported by his ships, caused a large bridge to be built over the waters of the Conway,<sup>1</sup> which flow and ebb near the mountain of Snowdon. Some of the nobles of the

<sup>1</sup> This bridge, which was not over the Conway but across the Menai Strait, was built by Luke de Tany, late Seneschal of Gascony, during August–September 1282. Edward's idea was that when he advanced to the Conway from the east, Tany and his men should cross from Anglesey by the bridge and take the Welsh in the rear.

king's army, passing over this bridge for the sake of taking exercise, were set upon,<sup>1</sup> and being alarmed by the numbers and the shouts of the Welsh who came against them, endeavoured unsuccessfully to effect their return to the island of Anglesey from which they had come, but were miserably drowned in the water. The Welsh ascribed this victory not to English misfortune but to a miracle, and urged their prince to act boldly and fear nothing; because in a short time, according to the prophecy of Merlin, he was fated to be crowned with the diadem of Brutus. Therefore Llywelyn, taking with him a numerous army, descended into the champaign country, leaving the mountainous district to his brother David.

Edmund, the heir of that famous knight now deceased, Roger de Mortimer, with some of the Lords Marchers, attacked the army of Llywelyn,<sup>2</sup> and without losing any of his men, slew a great number of the Welsh. In this battle the head of Prince Llywelyn was cut off and carried to London, where it was placed on a stake and crowned with ivy, and erected for a long time on the top of the Tower of London, from which his father, Gruffydd, had formerly fallen and broken his neck, and so died. The Welsh, alarmed at the death of their prince, and thrown into confusion, surrendered all the castles of Snowdon to the King of England.

*Annals of Osney (abridged).*

But the king, staying continuously in the districts round Rhuddlan up to about the feast of All Saints, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to Llywelyn in Snowdonia, in order to treat with him concerning peace, or, rather, that he might advise and persuade him to observe the peace which he had

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of November, Archbishop Peckham, an exceedingly well-meaning but tactless and arrogant man, was trying to arrange a peace. A truce had therefore been declared, but during the peace negotiations Tany treacherously crossed his bridge to attack the Welsh, and met with the defeat which he richly deserved.

<sup>2</sup> At Pont Orewin, near Builth, where the Irfon joins the Wye.

made not long since with the king. But all in vain, for Llywelyn could not be induced to discuss the peace seriously. But while the archbishop was lingering three days in Snowdonia, the officers of the king, foolishly rather than bravely, invaded the district with great secrecy, thinking to be able to take possession of it with their men through treachery. But the Welsh, hearing beforehand of their invasion, rushed to meet them in great force, compelling them to flee. They thought to save themselves in their flight by crossing a certain river, but, being ignorant of the force of the current, many of them were drowned, including Sir Luke de Tany; the rest escaped with difficulty. This happened on the feast of St. Leonard.<sup>1</sup> And so the archbishop, having failed, came down from Snowdon, and excommunicated Llywelyn as a prevaricator and perjurer, and David his brother and all their accomplices and supporters. About the same time died Roger de Mortimer. On his death, Sir Edmund, his eldest son and heir, together with his brother, that he might please the king, devised plots against the said Llywelyn, who, for some reason unknown, came down from Snowdon with a few of his adherents and wandered in the lower districts. His descent being known through the scouts, Edmund Mortimer met him unexpectedly, and having surrounded him with a force neither small nor unknown, slew him and his companions, who could not flee, with the edge of the sword. The head of the prince, which was recognized among the slain, was cut off and sent to the king. This memorable victory of the death of Llywelyn happened, by the disposition of God, about the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle before Christmas. The king, doubtless glorying in the victory, ordered the head to be carried to London and fixed on the Tower of London on the shaft of a spear as a sign of so renowned a victory.

<sup>1</sup> 27th November.

*Continuation of Florence of Worcester.*

Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, was intercepted by the king's troops in South Wales, and lost his life and head on Friday, the 10th December.<sup>1</sup> On the next day his head was sent to the king in North Wales,<sup>2</sup> and he at once sent it to his army stationed in Anglesey, and after the people of Anglesey were satiated with the spectacle, he ordered it to be conveyed immediately to London. On the morrow of St. Thomas the Apostle<sup>3</sup> the Londoners went out to meet it with trumpets and cornets, and conducted it through all the streets of the city with a marvellous clang. After this they stuck it for the rest of the day in their pillory, and towards evening it was carried to the Tower of London and fixed on a lofty pole. As for the body of the prince, his mangled trunk, it was interred in the abbey of Cwm Hir, belonging to the monks of the Cistercian Order.

### § 15. *Lament for the Death of Llywelyn*

*Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch. Stephens' Literature of the Kymry.*

COLD is my heart beneath a breast stricken with sorrow  
 For the royal diviner of the court of Aberffraw.  
 Gold that was not smooth was paid for his hand ;  
 He was worthy of a golden diadem.  
 Golden horns of a golden monarch, I shall have no joy,  
 Llywelyn is not living, gracefully to enrobe me ;

<sup>1</sup> Actually 11th December.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. E. Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, quotes the laconic letter in which Roger L'Estrange, commanding for the king at Montgomery, sent his master the welcome tidings : ‘ Sachez, sire, ke vos bones gens les queus vus auez assingne de vestre entendant a moy se combatirent av Leweln le finz Griffin en le paes de Buelt le vendredy prochein apres la feste saint Nhoilas, issi ke Leweln le finz Griffin est mort et se gent desconfit et tote la flour de se gent morz, sicum le portr de ceste lettre vus dirra, et le creez de ce ke il vus dirra de par moi.’

<sup>3</sup> Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle is 21st December.

Woe is me for a lordly hawk free from reproach !  
 Woe is me of the misfortune which has befallen him !  
 Woe is me of losing him, woe is me of his destiny !  
 Woe is me of hearing that he was wounded !  
 Woe, ye tents of Cadwaladr, that the obstructor of the flood  
     is pierced !  
 Golden-handed prince, hero of the red-stained spear,  
 Every winter he distributed rich apparel,  
 And clothed me with garments from his own person.  
 Lord of plenteous flocks, our right hand has not prospered,  
 But he shall enjoy life eternal.  
 It is my lot to complain of Saxon treachery.  
 It is mine to complain' of the necessity of dying,  
 It is mine to despise myself because God  
 Has left me without him.

### § 16. *Revolt and Execution of David ap Gruffydd*

1282.

*Annales Cambriae.*

THE king's castle at Llanbadarnfawr was destroyed, and  
 the castles of Llandovery and Carreg Cennen destroyed  
 by David ap Gruffydd, brother of Llywelyn, Prince of North  
 Wales, Rhys Vychan, son of Rhys ap Maelgwn, Gruffydd  
 and Conan, sons of Maredudd ab Owain, Gruffydd and  
 Llywelyn, sons of Rhys Vychan, Lord of Dryslwyn, on the  
 day after the Annunciation. . . .

Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales, was killed in battle near  
 Llanweyr in Builth, the third of the Ides of December. . . .

1283. David, his two sons, his wife <sup>1</sup> and daughters were  
 captured through the treachery of a relative about the feast  
 of the Nativity of the Blessed John the Baptist,<sup>2</sup> and imprisoned,  
 and the day after Michaelmas following, David was drawn and  
 hanged at Shrewsbury, his body divided into four parts, and

<sup>1</sup> David married (probably at the end of 1277) Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Derby and widow of William the Marshal of Norfolk (Lloyd).

<sup>2</sup> 24th June.

his head, which had been cut off, was sent to London and there fixed on the top of the Tower with the head of his brother Llywelyn. But his quarters were hanged, one at Shrewsbury, another at Lincoln, a third at Bristol where his two sons were imprisoned, and the fourth at Winchester.

*Annals of Osney.*

About the feast of St. Michael, the king, having called together the magnates of his realm and the chief citizens of England, at Shrewsbury, held his Parliament there, and had David, who had been captured at Rhuddlan, brought thither, and there, after the deliberation of the said magnates and his impiety and deserts having been weighed, he was legally condemned to death.

### § 17. *A Letter to Edward about Llywelyn*

*Peckham's Letters, Rolls Series, II. ccclxxii.*

DECEMBER 17, 1282. To my Lord the King.

To his very dear Lord, Edward, by Grace of God, King of England, &c., Friar John, by the permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, greeting in great reverence.

Sire, know that those who were at the death of Llywelyn found in the most secret part of his body some small things which we have seen. Among these things there was a treasonable letter disguised by false names. And that you may be warned, we send a copy of the letter to the Bishop of Bath, and the letter itself Edmund de Mortimer has, with Llywelyn's privy seal, and these things you may have at your pleasure. And this we send to warn you, and not that any one should be troubled for it.

Besides this, Sire, know that Lady Maud Longespere prayed us by letter to absolve Llywelyn, that he might be buried in consecrated ground, and we sent word to her that we would do nothing if it could not be proved that he showed signs of

true repentance before his death. And Edmund de Mortimer said to me that he had heard from his servants who were at the death that he asked for the priest before his death, but without sure certainty we will do nothing.

Besides this, Sire, know that the very day that he was killed a white monk sang mass to him, and my Lord Roger de Mortimer had the vestments.

Besides this, Sire, we ask you to take pity on clerks, that you will suffer no one to kill them or to do them bodily injury. And know, Sire, God protect you from evil, if you do not prevent it to your power, you fall into the sentence, for to suffer what one can prevent is the same as to consent. And, therefore, Sire, we pray you that it may please you that the clerks which are in Snowdon may go thence and seek better things with their property in France or elsewhere. For because we believe that Snowdon will be yours, if it happen that, in conquering or afterwards, harm is done to clerks, God will accuse you of it, and your good renown will be blemished, and we shall be considered a coward. And of these things, Sire, if it please you, send us your pleasure, for we will give thereto what counsel we can, either by going thither or by some other way. And know, Sire, if you do not fulfil our prayers you will put us in sadness, which we shall never leave in this mortal life. Sire, God keep you and all that belongs to you.

This letter was written at Pembridge, Thursday after St. Lucy's Day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Lucy's Day is 13th December.

## XV

### THE SETTLEMENT OF WALES UNDER EDWARD I

#### § I. *Edward I in Wales*

1283.

*Continuation of Florence of Worcester.*

THE king spent the feast of Christmas at Rhuddlan in Wales.

1284. On the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist<sup>1</sup> a son was born to the King of England at Carnarvon in Wales, and was named Edward.

*Annales Cambriae.*

1284. John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited the dioceses of St. Davids, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph. . . . The same year, King Edward rebuilt the castle of Llanbadarnvawr and began to build a castle at Conway, and made fortifications at Bangor and Carnarvon. And the said king came on pilgrimage to St. Davids together with his lady, Queen Eleanor, on Sunday, the day after the feast<sup>2</sup> of the Blessed Virgin, Catherine. And the measures of corn and wine and other liquids, and also weights, were made in agreement with the weights and measures of the city of London.

*Continuation of Florence of Worcester.*

1285. Our lord the king levied a scutage of forty shillings each for the army in Wales, the former one being spent. The king made a solemn procession from the Tower of London to Westminster, with the head of St. David, also called Dewi, and other relics which he had brought with him out of Wales.

<sup>1</sup> 25th April.

<sup>2</sup> 25th November.

§ 2. *The Statute of Wales or Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284*

*Statutes of Wales.* Ivor Bowen.

EXTRACTS.

I. *Wales annexed to the Crown of England.*

EDWARD, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all his subjects of his land of Snowdon, and of other his lands in Wales, Greeting in the Lord.

The Divine Providence, which is unerring in its own Government, among other gifts of its Dispensation, wherewith it hath vouchsafed to distinguish Us and our Realm of England, hath now of its favour wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion the land of Wales with its inhabitants, heretofore subject to us in Feudal Right, all obstacles whatsoever ceasing; and hath annexed and united the same unto the Crown of the aforesaid Realm as a Member of the said Body. We therefore, under the Divine Will, being desirous that our aforesaid land of Snowdon and our other lands in those parts, like as all those which are subject unto our Power, should be governed with due Order to the Honour and Praise of God and of Holy Church, and the Advancement of Justice, and that the People and Inhabitants of those lands who have submitted themselves entirely to our will, and whom we have thereunto so accepted, should be protected in security within our peace under fixed Laws and Customs, have caused to be rehearsed before Us and the Nobles of our Realm, the Laws and Customs of those parts hitherto in use: which being diligently heard and fully understood, we have, by the advice of the aforesaid Nobles, abolished certain of them, some thereof we have allowed,<sup>1</sup> and some we have corrected; and we have

<sup>1</sup> In 1277 Edward had promised to observe the Welsh laws, but this he failed to do. When the Welsh complained, Edward said he would 'maintain the Welsh laws as far as they were good and reasonable, but many

likewise commanded certain others to be ordained and added thereto; and these We Will shall be henceforth forever stedfastly kept and observed in our Lands in those parts according to the Form underwritten.

*II. Regulations of the Jurisdiction, and its Divisions into Counties, and Appointment of Officers. (Abridged.)*

We have provided and by our command ordained, That the Justices of Snowdon shall have the Custody and Government of the Peace of Us the King in Snowdon, and in the lands of Wales adjoining; and shall administer Justice to all Persons whatsoever, according to the Original Writs of Us, the King, and also the Laws and Customs underwritten. We likewise Will and Ordain that there be Sheriffs, Coroners, and Bailiffs of Commotes in Snowdon and our lands of those parts.

A Sheriff of Anglesea under whom shall be the whole land of Anglesea with its Cantreys, Metes, and Bounds.

A Sheriff of Carnarvon. . . .

A Sheriff of Merioneth. . . .

A Sheriff of Flint, under whom shall be the Cantred of Englefield, the Land of English Maelor, and the Land of Hope, and of the Land adjoining to our Castle and Town of Rhuddlan unto the Town of Chester shall from henceforth be obedient unto Us to our Justice of Chester, and shall answer for the Issues of the same Commote at our Exchequer at Chester.

There shall be Coroners in the same Counties, to be chosen by the King's Writ, the tenor whereof is to be found among the original Writs of Chancery.

There shall also be bailiffs of Commotes who shall faithfully perform and carry out their duties, and diligently attend thereto according to the commands given them by the justices and sheriffs.

of them were contrary to the Ten Commandments'; while Archbishop Peckham, with his usual want of tact, told the Welsh that 'the laws of Howell the Good came from the Devil' (Peckham's *Letters*, II. ccclx).

A Sheriff of Carmarthen with its cantreds, Commotes, and Ancient Metes and Bounds.

A Sheriff of Cardigan and Llanbadarn. . . .

There shall be Coroners in these Shires and Bailiffs of Commotes as before.

#### *IV. The Inheritance by Law of Wales.*

Whereas the custom is otherwise in Wales than in England concerning succession to an inheritance, inasmuch as the inheritance is partible among the heirs male, and from time whereof the memory of men is not to the contrary hath been partible, our Lord the King will not have that custom abrogated; but willeth that inheritances shall remain partible among like heirs, as was wont to be . . . with this exception, that bastards from henceforth shall not inherit.

#### *V. Mode of Trials.*

And whereas the people of Wales have besought us that we would grant unto them, that concerning their possessions immovable, as lands and tenements, the truth may be tried by good and lawful men of the neighbourhood, chosen by consent of parties; and concerning movables, as of contracts, debts, sureties, covenants, trespasses, chattels, and all other movables of the same sort, they may use the Welsh law whereto they have been accustomed. . . . We, for the common peace and quiet of our aforesaid people of our land of Wales, do grant the premises unto them: yet so that they hold not place in thefts, larcenies, burnings, murders, manslaughters, and manifest and notorious robberies; nor do by any means extend unto these; wherein we will that they shall use the Laws of England, as is before declared.

And therefore we command you that from henceforth you do steadily observe the premised things. So that notwithstanding that whosoever and wheresoever and as often as it shall be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge, or

diminish the aforesaid statutes, and the several parts of them, according to our mere will, and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and of our land aforesaid. In witness whereof our Seal hath been affixed to these presents. Given at Rhuddlan on Sunday in Mid Lent in the twelfth year of our Reign.

§ 3. *Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287*

*Annales Cambriae.*

RHYS AP MAREDUDD,<sup>1</sup> lord of Ystrad Tywi, having quarrelled with Lord Robert Tibotot, then the king's Justiciar at Carmarthen, on the Sunday before the feast of the Blessed Apostle, Barnabas,<sup>2</sup> took the castles of Llandovery, Dinefwr, and Carreg Cennen, and afterwards burnt the town of Swansea and the manor of Ysterlwylf, and the greater part of the district, and the town of Llanbadarnvawr and the town of Carmarthen to the very gates. But the English coming from England in great force besieged Rhys's own castle of Dryslwyn about the beginning of the month of August, and at last, by undermining the walls, they took the castle. During this undermining, William de Montchensy, a baron, with many others at the same time, was buried under the wall, and the new castle on the Teifi was taken, and the castles which Rhys had formerly occupied were recovered, and Rhys escaped with a few followers, all his others submitting to the king. On the night of Sunday, the day after All Saints,<sup>3</sup> Rhys recovered his castle called New Castle Emlyn, and captured Roger Mortimer, custodian of the said castle. About the Feast of the Purification,<sup>4</sup> next following, Lord Robert Tibotot took the same castle, slaying many of its garrison.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys ap Maredudd, Lord of Ystrad Tywi (Vale of Towy), had been an ally of Edward in the late wars, but he objected to the introduction of English laws and customs, i. e. the cutting up of the principality and the king's other lands in Wales into shires, and evidently had grievances against the king's officials, especially Robert Tibotot.

<sup>2</sup> Feast of St. Barnabas, 11th June.

<sup>3</sup> 1st November.

<sup>4</sup> 2nd February.

*Wykes's Chronicle* (abridged).

About the Feast of Pentecost, when a gentle breeze was blowing, and everywhere the woods were blooming and putting on their wonted leaves, one of the chieftains of Wales, Rhys ap Maredudd by name, whom the King of England, after the principality had been conquered, had admitted to his friendship and (having first demanded an oath of allegiance from him) conceded to him the lands and possessions which he had held before, rose in rebellion. Thinking that the king would make a longer stay overseas, and showing himself an impudent prevaricator with regard to his allegiance, this prince so arranged it, that, having joined together under himself the forces of Wales, of which there was no great number, he took possession of one of the king's castles, but he had not confidence enough to let his wife<sup>1</sup> enter and stay in any garrison, not even within the walls. But he and his band of pillagers of graves lay hid in a certain great forest, where, on account of the thickness of the trees and the bogs near it, access to him was difficult or even impossible; and making sallies in and out, and giving himself up to plunder and rapine, after the usual style of the Welsh, he began to ravage the neighbouring districts unmercifully, carrying off the plundered goods into the wood which he had chosen for a refuge. In excuse for his wickedness, he pleaded that Lord Robert de Tibotot, to whom the king had entrusted the care of the principality of Wales, had compelled him, contrary to his own wish and that of the king, to observe the English laws and customs. When news of this deplorable ravaging of his province came to the Earl of Cornwall, to whom the guardianship of the kingdom had been entrusted, while the king was abroad, he, leading a vast host from England, surrounded the camp which had been occupied so wickedly with a close siege. This being known,

<sup>1</sup> His wife was Ada, sister of John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny. It was through his wife that Rhys acquired Newcastle Emlyn (Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*).

the said Rhys ap Maredudd, unknown to the besiegers, silently and secretly led out his wife and army at dead of night, and gathered them together in a very safe place where the English neither could nor dared approach.

Not long after, when the English began to besiege another fortress<sup>1</sup> which Rhys had similarly taken, they began to undermine the walls, so that a large part of one wall was thought to be tumbling down, and so was propped up by too weak supports placed under it. One day some of the English carelessly entered the pit in order to inspect the structure of the subterranean mine, and lo! the pile of earth which roofed the mine, together with the deficient props supporting it, suddenly fell and killed a great many. Among these was the famous Lord William de Munchensy, a skilful soldier, rich in lands and possessions, and many other knights and nobles whose names we do not know.

About Michaelmas overtures of peace were made by the Earl of Gloucester and certain other of the Marcher Lords, who were said not to be really supporting the king's side, principally because they could not attack the traitor in the open, and the Earl of Cornwall returned to England with his army, having spent a good deal of money in vain.

After this retreat the said Rhys, scorning and breaking the truce, began again to ravage the provinces about Christmas. This being found out, Lord Robert de Tibotot, having attacked a certain castle on which Rhys relied most strongly, captured it, and decreed that that traitor and breaker of the truce should be sent into exile, and ordered it to be proclaimed publicly by the crier, that whosoever cut off the head of this man and presented it to the king should receive from him certain reward.

Rhys himself, with the connivance of the Earl of Gloucester, it was commonly said, decided to go to Ireland, where he stayed in land belonging to the Earl of Gloucester as a sort

<sup>1</sup> Dryslwyn.

of special refuge, until it should come to pass that the king should return from France.

#### § 4. *Death of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1292*

*Continuation of Florence of Worcester.*

RHYS AP MAREDUDD, a very powerful Welsh chief, having taken refuge in dense woods, and rebelled against the peace of the King of England, was captured by some faithful followers of the king, while continuing his career of ravage and slaughter, and, being brought through the middle of England to York, he was there drawn through the whole city and then hanged till he died.

#### § 5. *Rebellion of Madog, 1294*

*Annals of Worcester.*

IT seemed to the Welsh that they were intolerably oppressed by the English laws; they assembled together on the 29th day (of September) and slew at the same time all the English whom they could seize, with their wives and little ones. . . .

On the eighth day of December the king attacked the Welsh everywhere with fire and sword. . . .

On the 13th of February the Earl of Hereford, with other nobles and the levy of the district, raised the siege of the castle of Abergavenny in which the Welsh were engaged, and burnt their land, carried off a great deal of plunder, and slew innumerable people.

On the 15th of March William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, fought with the Welsh at a place which in their language is called Maes Madog; and he overthrew seven hundred of their chief men besides those drowned and mortally wounded. But Madog ap Llywelyn, their prince, escaped with disgrace and difficulty. . . .

1295. In the year A. D. 1295, the twenty-third of the reign of King Edward, the king entered Anglesey after Easter with

seven score ships of war, and showing himself at that time conciliatory with those who hated peace, came to terms with eleven thousand Welshmen.

Then, having built the castle which is called Beaumaris, and appointed custodians for it, he passed through the higher parts of Snowdonia. After that he ordered William, Earl of Warwick, to meet him in the neighbourhood of Merioneth. And so the earl with a large force moved his camp from Montgomery on the 13th May. The king then passed down to South Wales, and the Abbot of Strata Florida foolishly promised that, at a certain time and place, he would bring the whole county of Cardigan to make peace with the king. But when the king had waited for them for a long time with his men under arms, not a single man came from the Welsh. Very angry on that account the king said, ‘Burn, burn’. And so fire which never says, ‘That is enough’, soon enveloped the abbey and its estate. Afterwards Morgan, who was called prince of that district, with his seven hundred men, was led by the Earl of Warwick to make peace with the king. . . .

On the last day of July Madog ap Llywelyn, induced by Lord John de Havering, came with his household and submitted to the king.

### § 6. *The first English Prince of Wales*

1301.

THE king gave his son, Edward, the principality of Wales, which was very pleasing to the Welsh, because he had been born in Wales. He also gave him the earldom of Chester.

### § 7. *Llywelyn Bren*

PAIN DE TURBERVILLE received charge of Glamorgan from the king, and at once, having appointed new officials, he began to get rid of the former ones. Upon this

Llywelyn Bren was moved to anger, nor could any one say anything in his favour to Pain. But this Llywelyn was a great and powerful man in his own district, and, during the life of the Earl of Gloucester, had held an important post under him, and now, when Pain was put in charge, Llywelyn received very ill the taking away of his power, and abused and threatened him. ‘The day will come’, he said, ‘when I will bring to an end Pain’s pride, and will repay the evil turns which he has done me.’ On which account Llywelyn was charged before the king with being seditious and seeking opportunity to rebel, and the king was told that, unless he took great precautions, Llywelyn would raise the Welsh anew.

Hearing how he was ‘being run down before the king’, Llywelyn, on the advice of his friends, came to the court, wishing to excuse himself if he could, or at least to extenuate his wrong. But the king scorned him and ordered him to come to Lincoln and there await judgement concerning these charges.

So Llywelyn returned secretly and swiftly to his own district and carried into effect what he had formerly threatened, and where he had before used words he used blows. For, on a certain day, when the custodian of Caerphilly was holding a court outside the castle, Llywelyn and his sons and followers came upon the custodian and took him captive, having slain certain of the officials and badly wounded the suitors at the court. Then he attacked the castle, and though, owing to the resistance of the garrison, he could not enter, he burnt all the outer ward. These acts of hostility were soon known, but Pain avoided all his snares until he should have increased his strength.

Meanwhile, Llywelyn, attacking the lands of Pain, slew, burned, and plundered, for he had been joined by about ten thousand Welshmen. They carried off oxen and cows and other food to caves in the mountains and secret hiding-places in the woods. These evil deeds were reported to the king,

who told his servants, ‘ Go at once and hunt out that traitor, lest worse should happen through delay, and all Wales rise against us.’ The business was entrusted to the Earl of Hereford, whom it seemed to touch especially, as his lands in Brecknock bordered on Glamorgan, according to the poet<sup>1</sup> who says, ‘ Your house is in danger when your neighbour’s wall is burning.’

So the earl went down to his lands to hunt out Llywelyn. He was joined by Roger de Mortimer, William de Montacute, John Giffard, Henry of Lancaster, and other barons and knights who had land in the neighbourhood, so that the Welsh were so hemmed in on all sides that they could find no way of escape. Then Llywelyn, seeing that he had blundered badly and that he was not strong enough to resist the English, offered to surrender to the earl on condition that their lives and property should be allowed them, and that he should pay a large sum of money in reparation of the wrong done. But the earl would not receive him unless he would give himself up unconditionally. Therefore, Llywelyn, when our army had advanced and had found the Welsh outposts, addressed his men thus: ‘ It is not safe to engage with the English, I will give myself up for the whole people; for it is better that one man should die than the whole people go into exile or perish by the sword.’ So, coming down from the mountains, Llywelyn gave himself up to the earl, submitting entirely to the will of the king.

*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon, auctore Bridlingtonensi*, Rolls Series,  
ii, pp. 67–8.

*From the Charges brought by the Barons against the Dispensers.*

Item, the father and son, taking on themselves the royal power, seized the aforesaid Llywelyn, and brought him to Cardiff . . . and in that very place determined to have him drawn, beheaded, and quartered, to the detriment of the king and the crown and to the disparagement of the barons.

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Tunc tua res agitur paries dum proximus ardet.’—HORACE.

## XVI

### OWAIN OF WALES

1378.

*Froissart*, vol. ii, chap. xvii (abbreviated).

OWAIN OF WALES had closely blockaded the Mortain of Poitou, and had erected four block-houses. The inhabitants of Mortain were long sorely harassed by these means, for the blockade lasted upwards of a year and a half.

During the time of this siege, there came out of England and from the borders of Wales a Welsh squire named John Lambe, who was scarcely a gentleman, and indeed he showed it, for no gentleman would ever have practised such base wickedness. It was said that on his departure from England he had been instigated by some English knights to perform the treason he did, for Owain of Wales was greatly hated in England and Gascony on account of the Captal de Buch, whose ransom could never be obtained for any sum of money that could be offered : this caused the Captal's death<sup>1</sup> through melancholy to the very great regret of his friends.

About this time John Lambe arrived in Brittany, and continued his journey till he came to Poitou : he was honourably received everywhere by calling himself one of Owain's friends and speaking very good French. He said he came from Wales to visit Owain; and was too lightly believed, and was escorted by men of Poitou to Owain at Mortain. Advancing toward Owain, John Lambe fell on his knees and said in Welsh that he had left Wales to serve him. Owain received him kindly, thanked him for coming, accepted his offers of service, and then asked for news of Wales. He told him enough of true and false, and made him believe that the principality was desirous of having him for their lord. This information gained

<sup>1</sup> The Captal de Buch, a capable Gascon ally of the Black Prince, had been taken prisoner by Owain at Soubise.

so much the love of Owain (for every one naturally would wish to return to his own country) that he immediately appointed him his chamberlain. John won daily on the affections of Owain : there was no one in whom he had so great a confidence. Owain's regard increased so fast that evil befel him, which was a great pity, for he was a valiant knight, a good man, and the son of a prince of Wales whom King Edward had caused to be beheaded, but on what cause I am ignorant.

The King of England had seized his lands in Wales, and Owain, in his infancy, having come to France, explained his situation to King Philip, who willingly listened to him, retained him near his person, made him a page of his chamber, with his nephews d'Alençon and several other young nobles. He was also retained by King John, and was at the battle of Poitiers, but fortunately escaped, otherwise death would soon have followed his captivity. On the peace between France and England, he went to Lombardy, but returned to France on the renewal of war, and conducted himself so well that he was much praised and loved by the French king and by all the great lords.

Owain of Wales had a custom during the siege of Mortain, as soon as he was risen, if it were a fine morning, to seat himself before the castle, when he had his hair combed while he viewed the castle and the surrounding country, for he had not the smallest dread from any quarter ; it was not usual for any one to attend him as a guard but this John Lambe. On his last visit it was early morn and fine clear weather, and the heat of the night had prevented him from sleeping ; he went thither all unbuttoned, with only his jacket and shirt and a cloak thrown over him. All the others were asleep. After Owain had seated himself on the trunk of a tree he said to John Lambe, ' Go and fetch my comb, for that will refresh me a little.' He answered, ' Willingly, my Lord.' As he returned with the comb the devil must have entered the body

of this John, for with the comb he brought a Spanish dagger that had a broad point, and he struck it into Owain, whose body was almost naked, and pierced him through, so that he fell down dead. Leaving the dagger in the body, John Lambe went to the castle, where he soon gained admittance to the governor. ‘My Lord,’ he said, ‘I have delivered you from one of the greatest enemies you ever had.’ ‘From whom?’ said the governor. ‘From Owain of Wales,’ answered John Lambe, and related all the circumstances you have just heard. When the governor heard this he answered angrily, ‘You have murdered him, but know from me, that if we did not reap much advantage from your wicked deed, I would have your head cut off. What is done, however, cannot be undone: but such a death is unworthy of a gentleman, and we shall have more blame than praise for it.’<sup>1</sup>

## XVII

## WELSH STUDENTS AT OXFORD

*Adam of Usk.*

IN these days there happened a great misfortune at Oxford, for during two years there was continuous great strife between the southerners and the Welsh on the one side and the northerners on the other. From this sprang riots, quarrels, and often the slaying of men. In the first year the northerners were entirely banished from the university. For this banishment they chiefly blamed me. But in the second year, in an evil hour, returning to Oxford, they gathered together at night,

<sup>1</sup> John Lambe, if not sent by the English Government to do this foul deed, was at any rate rewarded afterwards, as the following entry in Rymer's *Foedera* proves: ‘Item, paie le xviii jour de Septembre à Iohan Lambe et à ses deux compagnions, en recompencion et regarde, si bien de les bons et agréables services qu'il a fait a monsieur le Prince, que Dieu assoile, et fera au roi q'ore est come de la mourt de You de Galles—C francs.’

and refusing us passage from our hostel by force of arms, they greatly annoyed us for two days by breaking into and sacking some of the halls and by slaying some of our side.

On the third day, however, our party, greatly helped by the support of Merton Hall, drove them in confusion from the public streets, which they had held for two days as their camp, and forced them to take refuge in their own houses. We could not be pacified until many of us had been charged with felonious riot, among whom was the present writer who was charged, perhaps with reason, as the chief leader and instigator of the Welsh. And so charged, we with difficulty escaped being tried by jury before the royal justice.<sup>1</sup>

## XVIII

### THE REVOLT OF OWAIN GLYNDWR

#### § I. *The Beginning of the Revolt*

*Lord Grey de Ruthin to the Prince of Wales.*<sup>2</sup>

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i, Letter 1.

RIGHT high and mighty Prince, my good and gracious Lord, I recommend me to you as lowly as I can or may with all my poor heart, desiring to hear good and gracious tidings of your worshipful estate and welfare, which I pray to almighty God as good might they be as ye in your gracious heart can best devise unto the pleasance of God and of you.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Wood (quoted by E. Maunde Thompson) tells us that the northerners 'sought after all the Welshmen abiding and studying in Oxford, shooting arrows after them in divers streets and lanes as they went, crying out, "Wat, war, war, sle, sle, sle the Welsh doggys and her whelpys, and he so loketh out of his house, he shall in good southe be dead", and certain persons they slew and others they grievously wounded, and some of the Welshmen who bowed their knees to adjure the town, the northern scholars led to the gates.'

<sup>2</sup> Spelling slightly modernized.

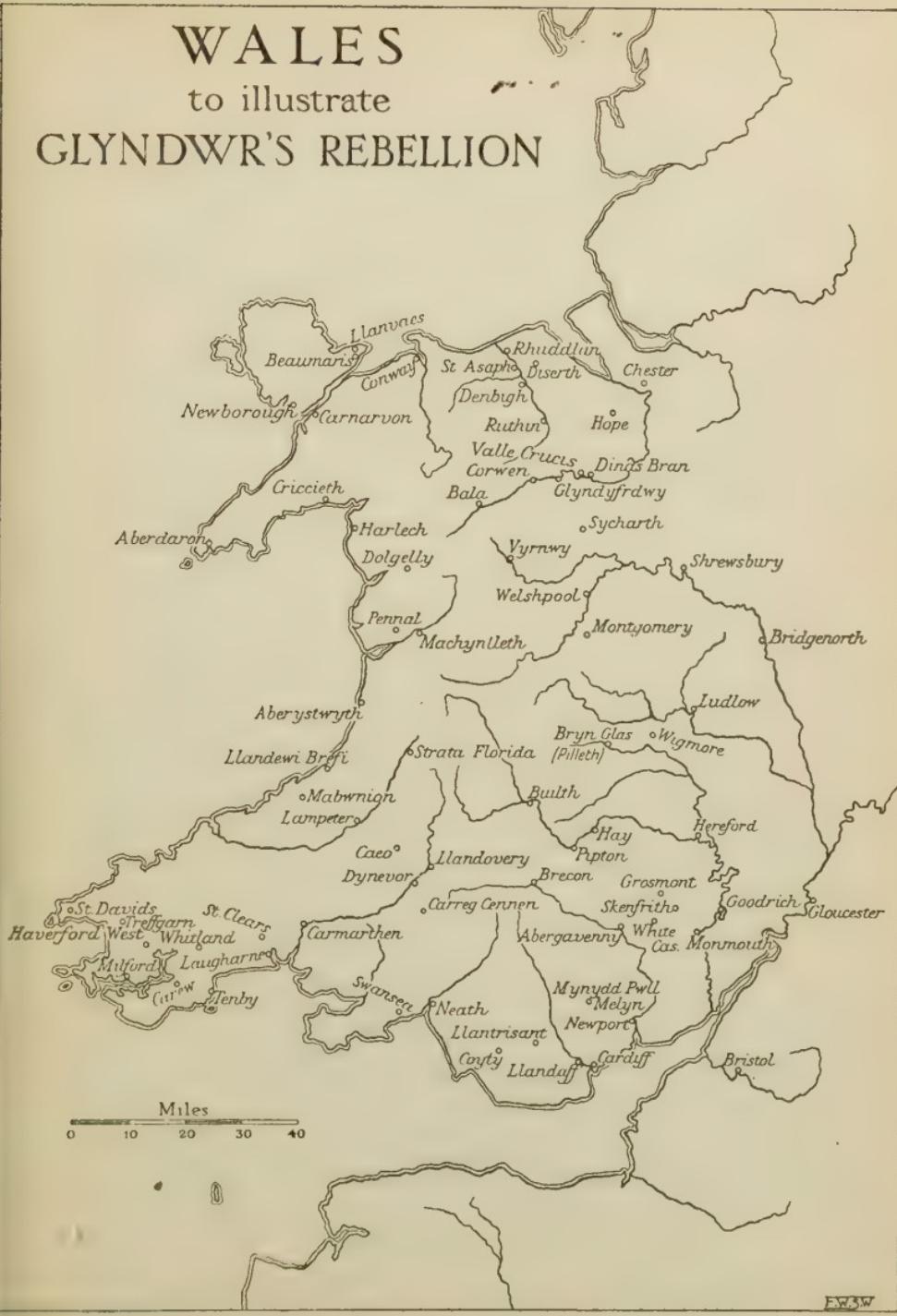
And gracious lord pleaseth it unto your high estate to wit that I have received our liege Lord's privy seal with your own worshipful letters to me sent, commanding me to see unto, and to appease the misgovernance and the riot<sup>1</sup> which ye hearen is begun here in the Marches of North Wales. Pleaseth unto your gracious Lordship to wit that I have do my power, and will do from day to day by our liege Lord's commandment and by yours, but my gracious Lord, please it you to wit that ye with advice of our liege Lord's Council must give me a more pleyner<sup>2</sup> commission than I have yet, to take them in the king's ground, other in the earl's ground of the March, other in the Earl's of Arundel, or in any lord's ground of North Wales, and by the faith that I owe unto my allegiance I shall truly do my power to do our liege lord the king's commandment and yours: but worshipful and gracious Lord, ye must command the king's Officers in every country to do the same. Also my gracious Lord, there been many Officers, some of our liege Lord the king's land, some of the Earl of the March's land, some of the Earl's land of Arundel, some of Powys land, some of my land, some of other lord's land hereabout, that been kin unto this meinie<sup>3</sup> that be risen. And till ye put the officers in better governance, this country of North Wales shall never have peace. And if ye had the officers under your governance, they could ordain remedy, where-through they should be taken. And gracious Lord, please it you to wit that the day that the king's messenger came with the king's letters and with yours to me, the strongest thief of Wales sent me a letter, which letter I send to you, that ye may know his good will and governance, with the copy of another letter which I have sent to him again of an answer. And also, gracious Lord, I beseech you lowly, that ye would vouchsafe to give faith and credence to a poor squire of mine, Richard Donn, of that he shall inform you of by

<sup>1</sup> Glyndwr's Rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller; French *plein*.

<sup>3</sup> Party, following.

# WALES to illustrate GLYNDWR'S REBELLION



mouth touching tidings of this country, and that ye would take to you our liege Lord's counsel and ordain other remedy for them than we have power for to do, other else truly it shall be an unruly country within short time. My gracious Lord, I can no more write at this time, but God that is our elder sovereign give you long life and well enduring. Written at Ruthyn the xxiii day of June. Reginald de Grey Sr de Ruthyn.

## § 2. *Owain Glyndwr*

1400.

*Annales Henrici Quarti.*

**M**EANWHILE the Welsh, seizing the fortunate opportunity of the king's absence, began to rebel, their leader being a certain Owain Glyndwr. This man was at first an apprentice of the law<sup>1</sup> at Westminster; then as a squire of some renown he fought for Henry when he was striving to attain the throne. The beginning of the trouble was the taking possession by Lord Reginald Grey of Ruthin of lands which Owain claimed to be his by hereditary right. Seeing his arguments and his dispatches despised, he raised a force and led an expedition against Lord Grey, laying waste his estates with fire, and putting many of his household to the sword cruelly and inhumanly.

When the king heard of this he immediately determined to attack such a disturber of his country's peace. Having collected a multitude of men-at-arms and archers he invaded Wales. But the Welsh with their leader, occupying the mountains of Snowdonia, continually withdrew before him, without fighting. At length the king, having burnt the land and killed such stragglers as fell into his hands, returned to England with a fair booty of carts, cattle, and beasts of burden.

<sup>1</sup> A barrister of less than sixteen years' standing.

§ 3. *Measures against the Welsh, 1401**Adam of Usk.*

**O**N the octave of St. Hilary<sup>1</sup> the king held a solemn Parliament in London, at Westminster.

It was ordained in this Parliament that the men of the March might use reprisals against Welshmen who were debtors to them or who had harmed them, if they had first allowed them a week for making amends.

This Parliament was ended on the 10th day of March. About that day or a little before, being present, I heard many very harsh measures to be ordained against the Welsh debated, namely, that they should not contract marriage with the English, nor acquire possessions nor live in England, and many other severe things.

§ 4. *The Capture of Conway, 1401**Adam of Usk.*

**G**WILYMDAP TUDOR and Rhys ap Tudor, brothers, natives of the Isle of Anglesey<sup>2</sup> or Mona, because they were unable to obtain the king's pardon<sup>3</sup> for the rebellion of the aforesaid Owain, on Good Friday of the same year seized the castle of Conway, well stocked as it was with arms and provisions. Having slain the two warders through the subtlety of a certain carpenter who pretended to come to his work as usual, and entering with forty other men, they held it as a stronghold.

But being at once besieged by the prince and the people of the countryside, on the 29th of May next following they gave up the same castle through their own cowardice and their followers' treachery; for having secretly bound nine of their number who were most objectionable to the prince as they

<sup>1</sup> St. Hilary's Day is 14th January. The octave of St. Hilary means a week after 14th January, i. e. 21st January.

<sup>2</sup> Of Penmynydd, Anglesey.

<sup>3</sup> On 10th March 1401, Henry IV issued a pardon to all Welsh rebels except Owain and Gwilym and Rhys ap Tudor.

slept after their night watch, they handed them over on condition of saving their own lives and those of the rest of the garrison. The nine bound and given up to the prince they at once saw drawn, disembowelled, hanged, beheaded, and quartered.

§ 5. *Letter of Henry IV to the Prince of Wales, 1401*

*Royal Letters, Henry IV, i. 69-72.*

**M**OST dear and most beloved son.

In reference to our last letter under our signet, now lately sent to you, we have received your letter in answer, by the which, among other things, you have signified to us how that between our most dear and faithful cousin, Henry de Percy, and our dear and faithful Arnald Savage, and others on your Council, on the matter touching Rhys and William ap Tudor, and other our rebels, their adherents, certain treaties had been settled; and how, and to what result the said William, Howel Vaughan, and all other companions and persons who are rebels with him in the castle of Conway, have finally arrived by their offer and supplication (of which we have seen the copy), and considering moreover the good arrangement of men and arms and archers and works, which you and our said cousin have made for the siege of the said castle, giving us your advice that one hundred and twenty armed men and three hundred archers should remain employed upon the said siege, until the feast of St. Michael, or the feast of All Saints next coming, to the end that the said rebels might be punished according to their deserts, or that we should have at least some other treaty which should be agreeable to us and more honourable than was any of the offers of our aforesaid rebels; the which, as seems to your sage counsel, and that of our said cousin, are not at all honourable to us, but a matter of most evil precedent, as in the letters from you and from our same cousin, sent to us at the present time, is more fully contained.

Concerning all which matters above written, you desire to know our intention and will.

You will therefore know, most dear and beloved son, that for your great pain and diligence that you have bestowed upon us for the time we very specially render you good thanks; willing and praying you that, as the said castle was taken through the negligence of your constable thereof, after the time that you had received the Principality of Wales by our gift, by the sage advice of our said cousin and those of your Council—not to undertake a premature exploit on this behalf, saving our honour and your own—you cause to ordain that by a strong hand the said castle may be restored into your hand. And for as much as it seems good to the sages of our Council that this charge ought not to appertain to any one but to you, who have the said castle and the lordship thereof in fee: nevertheless we, considering the great charges which you have sustained since the commencement of your settlement therein, and that on this account you cannot well sustain the said great charge without other aid—we will, therefore, by the assent of our said Council, that you should be relieved out of our treasure, that is to say of the moiety of the costs that you shall bear thereon, and shall have payment in anticipation of the grant made to us in our last Parliament to enable us to bear other far greater charges previously incurred.

#### § 6. *Capture of Lord Grey of Ruthin, 1401*

*Adam of Usk.*

ALL this summer, Owain Glyndwr, with many Welsh chiefs who were considered outlaws and traitors to the king, hiding in the mountains and woods, now looting, now killing their enemies who laid traps and attacked them, greatly harassed the districts of West and North Wales, and took prisoner the Lord de Grey.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Owain Glyndwr began his revolt owing to a personal quarrel with his powerful neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin. Many of the dates are uncertain, but Grey seems to have been captured in Lent, 1402.

§ 7. *King Henry's Second Expedition against  
Owain Glyndwr, 1401*

*Adam of Usk.*

THAT autumn, Owain Glyndwr, with all North Wales, Cardigan, and Powys supporting him, greatly harassed with fire and sword the English living in those parts and their towns, and especially the town of Welshpool. So the English invaded those parts in great force, utterly depopulated them, laying them waste with fire, famine, and sword, not sparing even children or churches, nor the monastery of Strata Florida, in which the king himself was received as a guest. For its church and choir, right up to the high altar, they used as a stable, despoiling it even of its patens. They carried away with them into England over a thousand children of both sexes to be their servants, and left the whole place desolate.

But the said Owain harmed the English to no small extent, slaying many of them, and carrying off the arms, horses, and tents of the king's eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and of other lords, transporting them for his own use to his mountain strongholds of Snowdon.

In those days, West Wales, and particularly the whole diocese of Llandaff, remained at peace and free from all trouble of invasion or defence.

Among those slain during the aforesaid English invasion was Llywelyn ap Gruffydd Vychan of Caio in the county of Cardigan,<sup>1</sup> a man of noble birth and very generous, using each year sixteen barrels of wine in his household. This man, because he favoured the said Owain, was, on the feast of St. Dionysius,<sup>2</sup> drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Llandovery, at the command of the king and in his presence and that of his eldest son.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is in the modern county of Carmarthen.

<sup>2</sup> 8th April.

<sup>3</sup> This old hero is said to have offered to lead Henry and his army safely over the bogs and hills of Cardigan, but to have misled them deliberately, and when found out to have boasted that his sons were serving with Owain.

§ 8. *The Battle of Vyrnwy, 1402**Annales Henrici Quarti.*

**M**EANWHILE, Owain Glyndwr, having gathered together his Welshmen, laid waste the lands of Lord Reginald Grey who was then staying in the castle of Ruthin. This lord, supposing the said Owain to be near, set out with a very moderate number of followers, hoping to capture or kill him easily. But the event proved far different from his hopes, for when the parties engaged in battle, Lord Grey himself was captured and many of his party were killed. Which misfortune filled the Welsh with pride and increased their folly—as will appear later.

§ 9. *The Defeat and Capture of Edmund Mortimer*

1402.

*Adam of Usk.*

**O**N the day of the feast of St. Alban,<sup>1</sup> near Knighton, in Wales,<sup>2</sup> was a fierce battle fought between the English under Sir Edmund Mortimer and the Welsh under Owain Glyndwr, with miserable slaughter, as many as eight thousand being killed, victory falling to the said Owain. And, woe is me, my lord, the said Edmund, whose father, the lord of Usk, gave me an exhibition at the university, was by the fortune of war led away captive. And being by those in England who were envious of him deprived of all his goods and prevented from ransoming himself, in order to escape more easily the penalties of captivity, he married the daughter of the said Owain, as is common knowledge. . . .

Also in this year, Lord Grey of Ruthin, captured by the same Owain with the slaughter of two thousand of his men, was kept in prison. But he was restored to liberty on payment of a ransom of sixteen thousand pounds of gold.

My heart trembles when I think of such a calamity to English power caused by the said Owain. For he destroyed

<sup>1</sup> 22nd June.<sup>2</sup> This battle was fought at Pilleth, or Bryn Glas.

the castles, including those of Usk, Caerleon, and Newport, and burnt the towns throughout Wales and the Marches with the help of thirty thousand men who sallied forth from their caves and hiding-places. . . .

In this year the king, with more than a hundred thousand men, divided into three armies, invaded Wales to make war on Owain. But as he and his wretched followers hid in caves and woods, the king, having laid waste the country, returned to his own lands with glory and an unlimited spoil of cattle.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. *Sir Edmund Mortimer to his Tenants, announcing his Coalition with Glyndwr*

December 13, 1402.

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series,  
vol. i, p. 24. Written in French.

VERY dear and well beloved, I greet you much, and make you to know that Owain Glyndwr has raised a quarrel, the object of which is such that, if King Richard be alive, to restore to him his crown, and, if not, that my honoured nephew,<sup>2</sup> who is right heir to the said crown, should be King of England, and the said Owain should have his right in Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join in it, and, by the

<sup>1</sup> This, September 1402, was Henry's third invasion of Wales. It lasted a fortnight, during which rain fell unceasingly, the rivers all overflowed their banks, the men were never dry, so that the king was forced to retreat. Well might Shakespeare make Glyndwr boast :

Three' times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head  
Against my power ; thrice from the banks of Wye  
And sandy-bottomed Severn have I sent him  
Bootless home and weather-beaten back.

(1 Hen. IV, iii. i. 65-8).

<sup>2</sup> Edmund, Earl of March, then a minor in the hands of Henry IV. Most of the earlier historians and Shakespeare have confounded the nephew and the uncle, writer of this letter. Sir Edmund Mortimer had been captured by Owen in June 1402, and had entered into alliance with him, and had married Glyndwr's daughter in November.

Grace of God, to a good end, Amen ! I ardently hope and from my heart that you will support and enable me to bring this struggle of mine to a successful issue. I have moreover to inform you that the lordships of Maelienydd, Gwerthrynyon, Rhayader, Comot of Udar, Arwystli, Cyfeiliog, and Caereinion are lately come into our possession : wherefore I moreover entreat you that you will forbear making inroad into my said lands, or doing any damage to the said tenantry, and that you furnish them with provisions at a certain reasonable price as you would wish that I should treat you : and upon this point be pleased to send me an answer. Very dear and well beloved, God give you grace to prosper in your beginnings, and to arrive at a happy issue.

Written at Maelienydd the xiii day of December.

ESMON MORTIMER.

To my dear and well beloved M. John Griendor, Howel Vaughan, and all the gentles and commons of Radnor and Presteign.

### § II. *The Alliance of Mortimer and Owain*

*Annales Henrici Quarti.*

EDMUND MORTIMER, a young man, was, as we have already said, captured by Owain Glyndwr. Then, either through the tedium of his captivity, or through the fear of death, or from some other cause unknown, he changed sides and professed to take part with Owain against the King of England. To strengthen the alliance he contracted a marriage, humble enough and beneath his rank, with the daughter of the said Owain.

At that time, Reginald Grey, having agreed to pay ten thousand marks for his ransom, and having actually paid six thousand of the amount into the hands of Owain Glyndwr, was released from captivity.

§ 12. *Henry's Welsh Expedition, 1402**Annales Henrici Quarti* (abridged).

**A**BOUT the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the King of England, having collected a great force, advanced into Wales, entrusting one army to his son the prince, another to the Earl of Arundel, and keeping the third himself. But so great a force availed him nothing, for the Welshman betook him to new hiding-places. Nay, rather, he almost destroyed the king and his armies, by magic as was thought, for from the time when they entered Wales to the time when they left, never did a gentle air breathe upon them, but throughout whole days and nights, rain mixed with snow and hail afflicted them with cold beyond endurance.

On the Vigil of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary the king pitched his tents in a very pleasant meadow, where everything seemed to betoken a calm and comfortable night. In the first watch, however, there was such a flood of rain that the Englishmen almost thought they would be drowned. To make things worse there came a hurricane, which overthrew and scattered the king's own tent, beneath the ruins of which he would have perished had not his soldiers rescued him. Great as was their experience of wars, the English never remembered being exposed to such dangers, and so ascribed the evil to the Brothers Minor [the Franciscans], who were thought to favour the Welsh. But far be it from us to believe that men belonging to so holy an order should have dealings with demons, and besmirch the glory of their order with a stain which no future age could wipe away.

The king, driven by necessity, returned to his own country.

§ 13. *Prince Henry to the Keepers of the Marches of Wales upon his burning of the two residences of Owain Glyndwr<sup>1</sup>*

May 15, 1403.

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i, p. 11.

**V**ERY dear and entirely well-beloved, we greet you much from our whole heart, thanking you very dearly for the attention you have paid to everything needful that concerned us during our absence; and we pray of you very earnestly the continuance of your good and kind disposition, as our trust is in you.

By way of news that have here occurred, if you wish to hear of them, we have among other matters been lately informed that Owen of Glyndowerdy has assembled his forces, and those of other rebels adhering to him in great numbers, purposing to commit inroads, and in case of any resistance being made to him by the English to come to battle with them, for so he vaunted to his people. Wherefore we took our forces and marched to a place of the said Owewyn, well built, which was his principal mansion, called Saghern,<sup>2</sup> where we thought we should have found him, if he had an inclination to fight in the manner he had said; but on our arrival there, we found nobody, and therefore caused the whole place to be burnt, and several other houses near it belonging to his tenants. We thence marched straight to his other place of Glyndowerdy to seek for him there, and we caused a fine lodge in his park to be destroyed by fire, and laid waste all the country around. We there halted for the night, and certain of our people sallied forth into the country and took a gentleman of the neighbourhood who was one of the said Owen's chief captains. This

<sup>1</sup> This letter is the only account we have of the destruction of Glyndwr's two houses, and, unfortunately, the prince did not give the year when dating it, but most modern historians assign it to 1403. The original is in French.

<sup>2</sup> Sycharth on the Cynllaith, not far from Oswestry.

person offered five hundred pounds for his ransom, to preserve his life, and to be allowed two weeks for the purpose of raising that sum of money; but the offer was not accepted, and he received death, as did several of his companions who were taken the same day. We then proceeded to the Commote of Edeyrnion in Merionedd, and there laid waste a fine and populous country; thence we went to Powys, and there being a want of provender in Wales for horses, we made our people carry oats with them, and pursued our march; and in order to give you full intelligence of this march of ours, and of everything that has occurred here, we send to you our well-beloved squire, John de Waterton, to whom you will be pleased to give entire faith and credence in what he shall report to you touching the events above mentioned.

And may our Lord have you always in His holy keeping.  
Given under our Seal at Shrewsbury the 15th day of May.

§ 14. *John Faireford to the Authorities of Herefordshire,*  
*1403*

*Royal Letters, Henry IV, i. 138. Original is in French.*

HONoured Sirs,

May it please you to know that Jenkin Hanard, Warden of the castle of Dynevor, this Wednesday morning, has certified to me by one of his men, that Rees ap Gruffydd, of the county of Carmarthen, William ap Philip, Henry Down and his son, with many their adherents of the said County, and of other Lordships, were on Monday last treasonably rising in the plain country against the King, our most Sovereign Lord, and his Majesty, and have laid siege to the said castle with a great force of rebels.

And, moreover, at the writing of these presents it was certified to me by Raulin Monington and others who were in the castle of Llandovery, how that Owain Glyndwr with his false troops was at Llandovery on Tuesday; and that the men

there being surprised, they in the castle are assured and secured to him, and three hundred of the rebels were at their ease, lying round the siege of the same castle, and at night were lodged at Llandeilo; at which time the men of the said county, and of other lordships around, were also assured and sworn to him.

And that this same Wednesday, the said Owen, and all the other rebels are on their march toward this town of Brecon, for the destruction of the same (which God avert), and, after, they purpose to make a diversion against other parties in March, if they be not resisted, which may it please you by your most sage counsel in these matters to certify unto the King, our Sovereign Lord; at the same time to supply all the counties around you, to reinforce them, and array them at once for resisting the same rebels, with all the haste possible, for the avoiding of greater peril in this case.

And you will know that all the Welsh nation, being taken a little by surprise, is adhering to this evil purpose of rebellion, and they are assured thereunto, how fully, from one day to another by the support they give to it, clearly appears more openly; and, I pray you, please to ordain the most speedy resistance against these rebels that you can, and if any expedition of cavalry be made, be pleased to do this first in these Lordships of Brecon and Cantref Sellyf.

I have no other things to write to you at present.

The Almighty God keep you in honour!

And may it please you to give credence to the bearer of these presents.

Written at Brecon, this Wednesday afternoon, and that in great haste.

Yours,

JOHN FAIREFORD,

Receiver of Brecon.

§ 15. *Jenkin Hanard, Constable of Dynevor Castle, entreating for assistance against Owain Glyndwr*<sup>1</sup>

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i, p. 14.

DEAR friend, I do you to witen that Owain Glyndwr, Henry Down, Rhys Duy, Rhys ap Gr. ap Llywelyn, Rhys Gethin, have won the town of Carmarthen, and Wygmor, Constable of the Castle, had yielded up the castle of Carmarthen to Owain; and have ybrend<sup>2</sup> the town, and yslay of men of town more than L men, and they budd in<sup>3</sup> purpose to Kidwelly, and a siege is ordained at the castle that I keep, and that is great peril for me, and all that beeth within; for they have y made their avow that they will all gate have us dead therein. Wherefore I pray you that ye nul not begil us,<sup>4</sup> that ye send to us warning with in short time whether shall we have any help or no: and but there been help coming that we have an answer, that we may come by night and steal away to Brecknock, cause that we faileth victuals and men, and namely<sup>5</sup> men. Also Jenkin ap Llywelyn have yielded up the castle of Emlyn with free will; and also William Gwyn, Thomas ap David ap Gruff and many gentils been in person with Owain. Warning hereof I pray that ye send me by the bearer of this letter. Fareth well in the name of the Trinity. I write at Dynevor, in haste and in dread, in the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr.<sup>6</sup>

JENKIN HANARD,

Constable of Dynevor.

<sup>1</sup> This letter was probably written to John Faireford, and is 'apparently the one brought by the messenger alluded to' in the preceding letter. The spelling is modernized.

<sup>2</sup> Burned.

<sup>3</sup> Be in.

<sup>4</sup> Will not beguile us.

<sup>5</sup> Especially.

<sup>6</sup> 29th December.

§ 16. *Extracts from other Letters written during  
Glyndwr's Rebellion, 1403*

*The Sheriff, Knights, &c., of Hereford to the King.*

*Royal Letters, Henry IV, i. 146.*

JULY 7th. May it please your royal Majesty to know that on the Sunday last past since we received your honourable letter,<sup>1</sup> we were at Brecon and have removed the siege, and there were killed by the men of your said county the number of two hundred and forty and upwards. . . . But, most dread and sovereign Lord, the day of writing of these presents we have received two letters . . . declaring the proceedings, intent, and purpose of your said false rebels . . . to come in haste, with a great multitude, to Brecon, and to take the town and to approach to the Marches and counties adjoining, to the destruction of them, which force we have no power to resist without your most earnest aid and succour. . . .

Lord, may it please you to ordain speedy remedy, which cannot be, as we deem, without your gracious arrival in these parts, for no other hope remains.

*Hugh de Waterton to Henry IV*

*Royal Letters, Henry IV, i. 150.*

July 13th. Your rebels in those parts have lately burned the towns of Llandeilo and Newtown, and have made a great destruction in those parts in all directions as far as your Lordships of Iskennen and Kidwelly, meeting with no resistance, and were about to have entry to destroy your said Lordships, but that they were impeded by an inundation.

*Jenkyn Hanard, Constable of Dynevor*

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i, p. 15. Spelling modernized.

Dear friend, I do to wit that Owain was in purpose to Kidwelly, and the Baron of Carew was that day coming with a great retinue toward St. Clears, and so Owain changed in

<sup>1</sup> Telling them to go to the relief of Brecon.

purpose and rode against the baron ; and that night he lodged him at St. Clears, and destroyed all the country about. And a Tuesday they were at Treaties all day, and that night he lodged him at the town of Laugharne, six<sup>1</sup> miles out of the town of Carmarthen : their purpose is if so that the baron and he accordeth in treaties, then a turneth again to Carmarthen ; . . . they have not yet made their ordinance whether the castle and the town shall be burned or no, and therefore, if there is any help coming, haste them with all haste toward us for they may have goods and victuals plenty, for every house is full about us of their poultry, and yet wine and honey enough in the country, and wheat and bean, and all manner victuals.

*The Mayor and Burgesses of Caerleon to those of Monmouth*

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i, p. 22. Spelling modernized.

We do you to understand of the tidings which we have heard of Owain Glyndwr . . . that there was a day of battle taken betwixt the worthy Baron of Carew and Owain Glyndwr ; and we do you to understand that this day of battle should have be do the xii day of July, and the night before that this battle should be do, Owain was in purpose to have avoided him to the Hull,<sup>2</sup> and for he would wit where he were clear enough to pass, if he had need, to the Hull,<sup>2</sup> he send vii C. of his meynie to search the ways, and these vii C. men went to search the ways, and there this vii C. men were y-met with the baron's men of Carew, and y-slain up every one. . . .

In the town of Carmarthen he send after Hopkyn ap Thomas of Gower to come and speak with him upon truce ; and when Hopcyn came to Owain, he prayed him, inasmuch as he held

<sup>1</sup> Really about twelve miles.

<sup>2</sup> I can find no place of this name in this district. Perhaps it should be 'to the hill' as Wylie suggests, *History of England under Henry IV.* i. 346.

him master of Brut,<sup>1</sup> that he should do him to understand how and what manner it should befall him; and he told him wittily that he should be take within a brief time; and the taking should be between Carmarthen and Gower; and the taking should be under a black banner; acknowledged that this black banner should decease<sup>2</sup> him, and not that he should be take under him.

*Richard Kingeston, Dean of Windsor, to Henry IV*

3 September.                    *Royal Letters*, i. 155. (Written in Old French.)

My most Sovereign and most dread Lord, may it please your most gracious Lordship to consider that today, after noon, (I was informed that) there were come into our county more than four hundred of the rebels of Owain . . . and they have captured and robbed within your county of Hereford many men, and beasts in great number, our truce notwithstanding. . . .

Besides this, my most Sovereign and most dread Lord, may it please you . . . for the preservation of your said county and all the March, to send to me this night, or early to morrow morning at latest, my most honoured Master Beaufort, or some other valiant person, who is willing and able to labour, with one hundred lances and six hundred archers, until your most gracious arrival to the salvation of us all.

### § 17. *The Rebellion of the Percies, 1403*

*Capgrave's Chronicle of England, Rolls Series,*  
p. 281. (Spelling modernized.)

**I**N that same time Sir Harry Percy the younger began to rebel against the king. And to him drew Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, uncle unto the same Harry. This man had the prince in governance, which suddenly left the

<sup>1</sup> i. e. a soothsayer, one who knew the prophecies of Merlin, which are to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Brut*.

<sup>2</sup> Make him perish, destroy him.

prince's house and drew to his nephew. And, that their rebellion should be more excusable, they written to the country about, that they would not withdraw their allegiance from the king. But the cause why they strengthened them thus, for they would go to the king for to inform him that better governance should be had in the realm, and they durst not go without strong hand. For, as they said, the taxes that were gathered of the people, to their great hurt, were spent neither to worship of God, nor profit of the land. When the king had this relation, he wrote and said he had full great wonder that they would noise<sup>1</sup> him so, for he knew no cause why but that they might come to his presence as safely as ever they did. Eke<sup>2</sup> he wrote that much of the good that was gathered was sent to their hands for tuition<sup>3</sup> of the Marches. But all this moved them nought, for with their host they removed straight unto Shrewsbury, abiding there the help of Howeyn Glendor out of Wales.

When the king understood their malice, in all haste he brought to meet with them ere they were fully gathered. For the Earl of Northumberland was not yet come unto them. They that were with Harry Percy noised through the country that the King Richard was yet alive, and amongst them, and for his right they were thus gathered. The king rode to Shrewsbury, where this Harry Percy had besieged the town. But when he saw the king's standard, he left the siege and turned suddenly again the king. In the host of Harry Percy were, as is written, xiiii thousand men. The king, when he saw the field so disposed, said unto his men words of great comfort, and made them hardy in his quarrel. Then sent the king the Abbot of Shrewsbury, with the privy seal, unto Harry Percy, desiring that he should come and ask grace, and spare that there be no blood spilt. Harry was somewhat moved with this message, and sent to the king his uncle, Thomas Percy. And when the king with great meekness had

<sup>1</sup> Spread a rumour about him.

<sup>2</sup> Also.

<sup>3</sup> Keeping, safeguarding.

promised the aforesaid Harry his good lordship, this Thomas told his nephew all the reverse. Then the king commanded they should bring him his sword, in which he trusted much. And they said it was left in a town beside, which they cleped<sup>1</sup> Berwick. When the king heard ‘Berwick’, he was greatly astonished, and said, ‘Forsooth it hath been often told me that in Berwick I should be in great peril. But fight mote<sup>2</sup> we need.’ So fought they to great harm of this nation. And Harry Percy, after the property of his name, percid or pressed, insofar that he was dead, and no man wist of whom. They fled that might flee. The Earl of Douglas was taken there; the Earl of Worcester, cause of all the sorrow; Sir Richard Vernon; the Baron of Kynderton, and many others. On that side were dead the most part of knights and squires of Cheshire unto the number of two hundred, and much of the people of which we have no number. The battle was on a Saturday, in the vigil of Mary Magdalen. . . .<sup>3</sup>

When the king had made all peace at Shrewsbury, he rode straight to York. . . . From the north the king proposed to ride into Wales, but his letting<sup>4</sup> was that he failed money.

### § 18. *Owain's First Parliament, 1404*

*Adam of Usk.*

AT Machynlleth, Owain and his mountaineers, even in their miserable plight, usurping the methods of conquerors and the rights of kings, although to his own confusion, held, or simulated or pretended, to hold parliaments.

### § 19. *Prince Henry to his Father, King Henry IV, 1405*

*Ellis, Original Letters*, pp. 38–40.

MY most redoubted and most Sovereign Lord and Father, I sincerely pray that God will graciously show His miraculous aid toward you in all places; praised be He in all His works; for on Wednesday the eleventh of this present

<sup>1</sup> Named.

<sup>2</sup> Must.

<sup>3</sup> 21st July 1403.

<sup>4</sup> Hindrance.

month of March, your rebels of the part of Glamorgan, Morgannok, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, assembled to the number of eight thousand men, according to their own account. And they went on the same Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt a part of your town of Grosmont, within your lordship of Monmouth and Jennoia. Presently went out my well-beloved cousin the Lord Talbot and the small body of my household, and with them joined your faithful and valiant knights William Newport and John Greindor,<sup>1</sup> the which formed but a small power in the whole ; but true it is indeed that victory is not in the multitude of people, and this was well proved there, but in the power of God. And there by the aid of the blessed Trinity your people gained the field and vanquished all the said rebels, and slew of them by fair account in the field, by the time of their return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred, and others a thousand, being questioned upon pain of death ; nevertheless, whether it were one or the other I will not contend, and to inform you fully of all that has been done I send you a person worthy of credit therein, my faithful servant, the bearer of this letter, who was at the engagement and performed his duty well, as he has always done. And such amends has God ordained you for the burning of your houses in the aforesaid town ; and of prisoners none were taken except one, a great chief among them, whom I would have sent you, but he cannot yet ride at ease.<sup>2</sup> . . .

Written at Hereford the said Wednesday night. Your most humble and obedient son.

HENRY.

To the King my most redoubted and most sovereign Lord and Father.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Greindor, or Grendor, was a tenant of Edmund Mortimer's, one of those to whom he had addressed his letter given on p. 206, but he was a supporter of Henry IV, and had held Radnor against Glyndwr.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Gethin, who commanded the Welsh at the battle of Grosmont.

§ 20. *Welsh Defeats*

1405.

*Annales Henrici Quarti.*

ON Ash-Wednesday of that year there was a great slaughter of the Welsh, and on the 5th day of the month of May there was near Usk another great fight between the Welsh and the English—the followers of the lord prince. The son of Owain Glyndwr was then taken, and with him were taken or killed fifteen hundred of the rebels. Afterwards, about the Feast of St. Dunstan, Owain's chancellor was taken in battle, and many Welshmen were killed.

And that same year John Hanmer, Owain's son-in-law, was taken. The captives were all led to London, and there imprisoned in the Tower.

1406. On St. George's Day the English fought with the Welsh, of whom they slew a thousand—among them a son of Owain Glyndwr.

§ 21. *French Help for Owain*

1404-6.

*Chronicles of Wavrin*, vol. iv, chapter xi.

A BOUT this time the Marshal of France and the Master of the Archers, by command of King Charles and at his expense, assembled twelve thousand combatants, and they came to Brest in Brittany to go to the aid of the Welsh. When they were come there they found about six score ships ready furnished with all that their business required, but they were obliged to remain in port some time awaiting a favourable wind. When they had the desired wind they set sail for Haverfordwest in England. There they killed all the inhabitants they could find and laid waste the country round. Then they assaulted the castle of the said town, where were the Earl of Arundel and many other men of war. When they had burned the outskirts of the said castle they set out for Tenby, a town eighteen miles distant, destroying with fire and sword all along the road. At Tenby they found some of the

great lords of the country of Wales with twelve thousand combatants awaiting them. Then they went thence to Carmarthen, twelve leagues away. . . .

Thence they took the road to Worcester,<sup>1</sup> where they burned the outskirts and the country round about.

While these things were going on, King Henry, previously warned of their coming, was preparing. Accompanied by as many men as in such a hurry he could assemble, he hastened towards his enemies because, to his great joy, his scouts reported that the French and Welsh were joined together in great force. He went forward till he came to the place which he had chosen, within three leagues of Worcester. His enemies, warned of his coming, were ranged in battle order on a mountain.<sup>2</sup> The king, having surveyed their numbers and their position, saw that he could not, without great loss of his own men, fight them there. Wherefore, with all his battalions, he drew up on another mountain right opposite that on which his enemies were. There, with a deep valley between, each party waited for the other to begin the attack—and waited in vain. Thus the armies faced each other for six days, doing nothing save that every morning they put themselves in battle array, which they kept till evening. But know for a truth that many skirmishes and fine deeds of arms were done daily in the valley, in the course of which about two hundred men were slain and many wounded. . . . Meanwhile, the French and the Welsh were much tormented by famine. Only with great difficulty could they get any food for themselves or their horses, because the English king, who was valiant and prudent in the business of war, had placed men in the passes so that provisions could not come to his enemies. Finally, on the eighth day, . . . King Henry, seeing that his enemies would not attack him, retired in the evening to Worcester. The French and the Welsh pursued, destroying eighteen carts laden with pro-

<sup>1</sup> By a slip the chronicler says 'Winchester'.

<sup>2</sup> Woodbury Hill, about nine miles north-west of Worcester.

visions and other royal baggage. Then, with their spoil, they retired into Wales to rest themselves a little.

While these things were going off the French fleet was cruising at sea. Upon the appointed day it returned to Wales, whereupon the Admiral of France, the Master of the Archers, and their advisers (seeing that their army could do nothing useful because the King of England was too powerful in the field, and because every day came to him fresh men and supplies, while to them came neither) put to sea again . . . and returned to France.

*§ 22. Extracts from the Letter of Owain, Prince of Wales, to Charles VI, King of France, promising obedience to Pope Benedict XIII, 1406*

Matthews, *Welsh Records in Paris.*

THAT the church of St. Davids shall be restored to its original dignity, which from the time of St. David, archbishop and confessor, was a metropolitan church.

Again, that the same lord Benedict shall provide for the church of St. Davids and the other cathedral churches of our principality, prelates, dignitaries, and beneficed clergy and curates who know our language.

Again, that we shall have two universities or places of general study, namely one in north Wales and the other in south Wales.

*§ 23. The End of the Revolt*

*Sir Lawrence Berkrolles and Owain Glyndwr, 1406?*

*Iolo MSS., p. 493.*

WHEN Owain travelled about the country in the guise of a strange gentleman, attended by one faithful friend in the habit of a servant, and both being unarmed (for no armed person was secure at that time), and going about to ascertain the disposition of the inhabitants, he went to the castle of

Sir Lawrence Berkrolles,<sup>1</sup> and requested, in French, a night's reception for himself and servant, which was readily granted, attended by a hearty welcome, the best of everything in the castle being laid before him ; and so pleased was Sir Lawrence with his friend, that he earnestly pressed him to remain with him for some days, observing that he soon expected to see Owain of Glyndwr there ; for that he had dispatched all his tenants and servants, with many other confidential persons, under an oath of fidelity, through all parts of the country to seize Owain, who, he was told, had come to that district of the principality, and that he was himself sworn to give honourable rewards to his men who should bring Owain Glyndwr there, either alive or dead. ‘ It should be very well indeed ’, said Owain, ‘ to secure that man were any person able to do so.’ Having remained at Sir Lawrence’s castle four days and three nights, Owain thought that it would be wise to go on his way ; therefore, giving his hand to Sir Lawrence, he addressed him thus : ‘ Owain Glyndwr, as a sincere friend, having neither hatred, treachery, nor deception in his heart, gives his hand to Sir Lawrence Berkrolles, and thanks him for the kindness and gentlemanly reception which he and his friend (in the guise of a servant) experienced from him at his castle, and desires to assure him, on oath, hand in hand, and hand on heart, that it will never enter his mind to avenge the intention of Sir Lawrence towards him, and that he will not, as far as he may, allow such desires to exist in his own knowledge and memory, nor in the minds of any of his relations or adherents ’ ; and then he and his servant departed ; but Sir Lawrence Berkrolles was struck dumb with astonishment, and never afterwards recovered his speech, no word, thenceforth, having ever escaped his lips.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Lawrence Berkrolles of St. Athan was descended from one of Fitz Hamon's Norman followers. ‘ He had inherited the great castle of Coity (old castle, Bridgend) from his mother's family.’ (Bradley.) It was there that this incident probably occurred.

*Aberystwyth*

1407.

Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 277.

This summer, Lord Henry, Prince of Wales, took by siege the castle of Aberystwyth, but not long after Owain Glyndwr fraudulently entered it and placed a garrison there.

*Loss of Support*

Iolo MSS.

In 1408 the men of Glamorgan were excited to commotion through the extreme oppression inflicted on them by the king's men, but many of the chieftains who had obtained royal favour burnt their corn stacks and barns, that the partisans of Owain might not obtain needful food. But those chieftains fled to the extremities of England and North Wales, where they were defended in the castles and dales of the king's forces, and supported by the rewards of treason and stratagem ; and Owain could not recover his lands and authority because of the treachery prevalent in Anglesey and Arvon, which the men of Glamorgan designated the treason of Penmynydd in Mona.

*Disappearance of Owain*

Iolo MSS.

In 1415 Owain disappeared, so that neither sight nor tidings of him could be obtained in the country. It was rumoured that he escaped in the guise of a reaper, after which little or no information transpired respecting him, nor of the place or manner of his concealment.

*§ 24. Penal Laws against the Welsh*

1400-1.

Ivor Bowen, *Statutes of Wales*.

IT is ordained and established that from henceforth no Welshman wholly born in Wales, and having father and mother born in Wales, shall purchase lands and tenements

within the towns of Chester, Salop, Bridgnock, &c., nor other merchant towns joining to the Marches of Wales (p. 31).

It is ordained and established that if any Welshman from henceforth do enter in the counties joining to the same in the realm of England, and in the same do burn, kill, ravish, or commit any other felony or trespass whereof he is attainted . . . and repaireth unto Wales and abideth there; that . . . final execution be made upon the same felons by the Lords or Ministers and that upon a grievous pain (p. 32).

It is ordained that no whole Englishman by three years next following shall be convict at the suit of any Welshman within Wales, except it be by the judgement of English justices or by the judgement of English burgesses (p. 33).

It is accorded that from henceforth no Welshman be received to purchase lands nor tenements within England nor within the boroughs or English towns in Wales (p. 33).

**1402.** It is ordained . . . that no Englishman . . . be convict by any Welshman . . . within the land of Wales (p. 34).

It is ordained and stablished that no waster, rhymer, minstrel, nor vagabond be in any wise sustained in the land of Wales to make Commorthies<sup>1</sup> or gathering upon the common people there (p. 34).

It is ordained and established that from henceforth no Welshman be armed nor bear defensible armour (p. 35).

It is ordained and established that no Welshman be made justice, chamberlain, chancellor, treasurer, sheriff, &c. [eight other offices are mentioned] (p. 36).

It is ordained that no Englishman married to a Welsh woman of the amity and alliance of Owain ap Glendour, traitor to our Sovereign Lord, or to any other Welsh woman, after the rebellion of the said Owain, or that in time to come marrieth himself to any Welsh woman, be put in any office in Wales, or in the Marches of the same (p. 36).

<sup>1</sup> A *cwmwrth* was a tax levied from the people for the support of the bards.

## XIX

# SOCIAL LIFE IN WALES IN THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

### § I. *Lord and Tenant*

*The Black Book of St. Davids*, pp. 181-3.

(Cymrodonion Society's publications.)

AND all the aforesaid farmers at Lantefey<sup>1</sup> and Porthllu give for a heriot their best horse or their best beast, and for a mortuary their second best beast or their best outer garment... if they have no beast.... And they ought to plough twice, the lord finding food, and the value of each service is *1d.* And they ought to harrow twice, the lord finding food, and the value of this service is a halfpenny. And they ought to hoe half a day without food, but if the lord wants them for the whole day the lord should find food; the value of this service is a halfpenny. And they ought to gather all the lord's hay in the meadow, finding their own food, and also carry it, on the lord finding food, and the value of this service is *1d.* And they ought to reap for three days, the lord finding food, and the value of this service is *1d.*

Item, they ought to carry the corn of the lord for one day, and the value of this service is *1d.*

Item, they ought to carry the materials for the houses and mills at their own cost from Loydarth [Llwydiarth], Lawhaden [Llawhaden], Tenby, Pembroke, Carrew [Carew], and Slebech [Slebech] to Lantefey, and the value of this joint service is, according to its true value, *6s. 8d.* And there are twenty-six of the aforesaid services, and the value of each is *3d.*

Item, they ought to carry coal for making lime as often as necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Lamphey, one of the bishop's palaces.

Item, they ought to carry tiles for the houses in the manor whenever necessary.

Item, they ought to keep in repair the mill pond at their own cost.

Item, they ought to make mud walls for the water mill, the lord finding food.

Item, they ought to carry mill stones and thatch the mill with the lord's straw at their own cost.

Item, they pay a toll on buying and selling, that is to say, on horses, oxen, and all other beasts whatever, and on sheep. And they ought to carry the corn for the bread to the place where it is baked, on the demesnes at Lawhaden and Burton, and also for the lord's brewing from the granary as often as necessary, the lord finding food. And they sit in the hall at the tablecloth in the area. And they give collection of sheep in every third year, namely, when there are twenty or more a sheep, and when there are not twenty they give nothing. And if any one is convicted or arrested for felony he ought to be delivered to the said tenants, and they ought to keep him and take him to Lawhaden [Castle, the *caput baroniae*] at their risk and at their own cost, and there give judgement on the case. And they ought to lead the wagons and carts of the lord going for wine to Tenby, Pembroke, and Carew, and convey the same safe to the lord's cellar at their own cost in addition to the stallage. And they do suit of court on summons of one night at the will of the lord, and there is a common fine of 10*s.* And they ought to follow the army in a general war for the defence of the land of the Lord Bishop.

*The Black Book of St. Davids, p. 73.  
(Cymrodonion Society's publications.)*

Item, they say the lord has in a field which is called Stepihull, 55½ acres, and each acre is worth yearly to let 3*d.*, and in the field which is called Northfield, 97½ acres, and each acre is worth yearly to let as above; and he should sow on an acre of wheat 3½ bushels and a peck, and on an acre of buckwheat,

4 bushels for the rabbits, and he will answer for the seed. And on an acre of beans, 8 bushels, and he will answer for 3 measures, and on an acre of peas and vetches 3 bushels, and he will answer for 3 measures, and on an acre of barley and oats 8 bushels, and he will answer for 3 measures.

### *Strange Rents*

*The Black Book of St. Davids.*

(Cymrodorion Society's publications.)

Item, Howel ap Philip and his co-tenants hold at Carnetoth one caracute of land, and pay yearly at Pentecost 1*d.* and one needle, and do all services as the aforesaid William.

Item, Gilbert ap Ieuan and his co-tenants hold at Trefhenre one caracute, and pay yearly at Pentecost a halfpenny and one pair of gilded spurs, or 6*d.*, and do all services as the aforesaid William (p. 101).

Item, they say that Arthur Menevensis holds one curtilage, and pays yearly one pound of wax at the feast of St. Michael, price per pound, 6*d.* (p. 37).

Item, they say that David Coyg holds one plot, and pays yearly one pair of gloves at the feast of St. Michael, value of each pair, 1*d.*

Item, Philip Curteys holds one plot, and pays yearly one pair of gloves at the same time, value of each as above (p. 39).

### *§ 2. Fairs and Markets*

*The Black Book of St. Davids.*

(Cymrodorion Society's publications.)

ITEM, they say that the lord has a fair there [at St. Davids] twice a year, namely at Whitsuntide and the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and the fair lasts for seven days, and the pleas and the tolls thereat are worth yearly 5*s.*

Item, they say that the lord has a market there every Thursday, and the yearly value of the tolls of it is 2*d.*, and the pleas and perquisites of the Hundred there are worth yearly 20*s.* (p. 13).

And they say that the lord has there [at Llawhaden] a fair twice in the year, that is, on the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist and the Feast of St. Martin, and it lasts for three days on each occasion, and the tolls and fines are worth yearly 6s. 8d. (p. 137).

And all the aforesaid burgesses . . . each one at a time, when the fair is held is to watch three nights at his own cost (p. 153).

### § 3. *Miscellaneous Orders and Accounts*

*The Lordship of Haverford.* (Cymrodorion Society's publications.) Close Roll, 11 Edward I (1283).

ORDER to Robert Tibotot, justice of West Wales, to restore to Matilda, late wife of Roger de Mortuo Mari, the elder, a third of two commotes, 2½ knights' fees, 1½ caracutes of land, half a bovate of land in Hareford [Haverford], a commote called Wulfry [Velfrey], and a Welsh town [probably Lampeter Velfrey], a third of the town of St. Clears, the vill of Nerberth [Narberth], Robeston, and Templeton (p. 5).

*The Lordship of Haverford.* (Cymrodorion Society's publications.) Patent Roll, 25 Edward I (1297).

Commission of oyer and terminer to Thomas de la Roche, Gilbert de la Roche, and brother William de Tothale, master of Slebech, by jury of the county of Haverford on complaint of Robert du Vaal, that whereas he and his ancestors were accustomed to hold their court of their own tenants at their manor of Hill in West Wales, Walter de Pederton, Maurice de Killamery, and William le Clerk, king's minister of Haverford, and Walter de Sancta Brigida, king's minister of Mons, by their own authority prevented, and still prevent him, from holding the said court.

Ibid., 4 Edward II (1311).

The bailiffs, good men, and commonalities of Cardigan and Haverford are to provide two ships as an aid for the king's service in the war against Robert de Brus, fully armed and

provisioned for seven weeks, the vessels to be at the port of Walrikeforde [Olderfleet, co. Antrim], near Kirakfergus [Carrickfergus] in Ulster, by the morrow of Midsummer Day.

*Cardiff Records*, vol. i.

Ministers' Accounts.

1315. An account of Bartholomew Badelesmere, custodian of the castles, manors, and all the lands and tenements which were of Gilbert de Clare.

Town of Cardiff.

Rents of Assize. The same answers for 105*s.* 2*½d.* of rents of assize of the town of Cardiff at Michaelmas.

Farms. The same answers for £9 10*s.* of the farm of two water-mills and one mill there at Michaelmas. . . .

And for 75*s.* of the farm of the fishery of the water of Taff and of the weirs at Michaelmas.

Borough Issues. The same answers for 29*s.* 10*d.* of the toll of the vill and of the fairs on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul for the aforesaid time.

Pleas and Perquisites. The same answers for 8*s.* 6*d.* of perquisites of the court for the same time.

Extracts from other accounts.

1316.

Cardiff. He accounts for 500 shingles bought for the roofing of the houses of the castle, 6*s.* 8*d.* For one carpenter hired to roof and mend the said houses for 16 days, 4*s.*, taking 3*d.* a day.

For mending the fetters of the prison, 10*d.*

Roath. He answers for 1 bull and 14 cows received of purchase as below.

\* Sum 15.

And delivered to Sir Payn Turbervill the succeeding custodian. He answers for 12 calves the issue of 12 cows, and not more because 2 cows were barren.

## Sum 12.

Whereof in tithe 1 calf. Dead of the murrain 4 calves.

Sum 5. And there remain 7 which are delivered to Sir Payn, the succeeding custodian, as appears by indenture.

Works of harrowing. He answers for 90 works at harrowing, arising from 18 customary tenants, of whom each one owes 5 works from morn till noon. Sum 90 works.

Hay. He answers for the hay of  $44\frac{1}{2}$  acres of meadow mown as below. And for 62 acres 1 rood of meadow he answereth nothing, because they were swamped by water.

## 1376.

Glamorgan. Arrears of divers ministers there at Michaelmas.

Cardiff. They owe there 114*s.* 9*d.*

John ap Rees and John Baths, farmers of the movables, 110*s.*

John Rees and Richard Gloucester, the present accountants 4*s.* 9*d.*

§ 4. *Charter of King John to Swansea, 1213*

G. Grant Francis, *Swansea Charters.*

JOHN, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, to our burgesses of Sweyneshe, that they may go and come through all our land with all their merchandise, buying and selling and trading, well and in peace, freely and quietly and honourably, and that they may be quit of toll,<sup>1</sup> passage,<sup>2</sup> pontage,<sup>3</sup> stallage, and lastage,<sup>4</sup> and all other customs,

<sup>1</sup> A fee to the owner of a fair or market for bringing in goods to sell.

<sup>2</sup> A fee for ferrying across a river.

<sup>3</sup> A fee for crossing a bridge—used for their upkeep.

<sup>4</sup> A toll; sometimes a charge for loading a ship, sometimes a payment of so much the last, a measure or weight which varied for different kinds of goods and in different localities.

saving in all things the liberties of our city of London. Wherefore, we will and firmly command, that our aforesaid burgesses of Sweyneshe and their heirs by quit forever from us and our heirs, throughout all our land, of all the aforesaid customs, and that they go through all our land buying and selling and trading, as is aforesaid.

Witnesses, the Lord Peter, Bishop of Winchester,<sup>1</sup> William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, &c. . . . Given by the hand of Master Richard de Marisco, our chancellor, at Reading the 5th day of May in the sixteenth year of our reign.

*§ 5. An Inquisition as to the Extent of Carmarthen,  
1275*

*Charters relating to Carmarthen*, J. R. Daniel-Tyssen.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF KERMERDIN made on Wednesday next before the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the third year of the reign of King Edward the First : Before Howel ab Meurig, and Henry de Bray ; by the oath of Nicholas le King, Laurence Batin, William Champeneys, Richard Chapman, John Lawrence, Master Ely, Meilir Vaughan, John Barrett, Meredydd ab Richard, Eineon ab Henry, Howel Vaughan, Philip ab Llewelyn, Griffith ab Eineon, Eineon Vychan, Meredith ab William, Rhys ab David.

WHO SAY upon their oath, that at Kermerdin there is a certain castle in which is a certain good Dungeon,<sup>2</sup> constructed from five small towers, which is in want of repair as well as keeping up. A certain great tower is there, which is much in want of repair : one convenient hall with a chamber also require repairing like the above. The Chapel, Stable, and Kitchen are decayed, and the gate of the Castle, so as to be of no value.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, was one of John's unscrupulous foreign friends whom he rewarded with a bishopric in 1205, and with the justiciarship in 1213.

<sup>2</sup> Donjon, i. e. a keep.

THEY ALSO SAY that the castle wall towards the water, for the length of 8 perches (26 feet to the perch), and the wall from the Castle Gate unto the western corner, for the length of 10 perches appear in a ruinous state, and have partly fallen down.

THEY ALSO SAY that all the defects as well of the Towers and Walls, as of the Houses, can be amended and newly repaired for 100 marks.

There are in demesne 100 acres of arable land . . . which acres lie in divers places, namely: upon Alishull, Lintlour, Lintloc,<sup>1</sup> and in a place called The Archdeacon's land, each acre of which is valued at 4d.

Sum—33*s.* 4*d.*

There are in demesne 29 acres of meadow each of which is valued at 3*s.*

Sum—£4 7*s.*

There is a separate pasture moor, near the above meadow, and it is worth 10*s.* yearly.

Sum—10*s.*

There is a certain prisage<sup>2</sup> of wine which is valued at 100*s.*

Sum—100*s.*

There are two streams for the taking of salmon and a certain Fishery, which together are valued at 53*s.* 4*d.*

Sum—53*s.* 4*d.*

Sum—£14 3*s.* 8*d.*

#### EXTENTA WALESCARIA.

Three Commotes are there, namely, Elved, Derllys, and Wydigada, in which Commotes are a great number of Welsh

<sup>1</sup> These places are identified in Daniel-Tyssen as 'Gwaen Ellis (part of Alltycnap), Cillevor, and Llanllwch'. There is still meadow land called the Archdeacon's land.

<sup>2</sup> In North Wales during the Middle Ages, prisage or prise of wine was: For every ship with twenty tuns or over—two tuns. For every ship with less than twenty tuns—a custom of two shillings a tun. (E. A. Lewis, *The Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia*.)

holding of the Lord of Kermetherthin by Welsh Tenure, and they render yearly 17 cows in common and 4s. and 2d. money also in common . . . each cow being valued at 5s.; and it is at the option of the Lord or his Bailiff to take the cows or for each of them 5s.

Sum—£4 9s. 2d.

And the aforesaid Welsh do suit at the County of Kermerdin every month, and are bound to come at every reasonable summons of the Lord or his Bailiff, or if not to be amerced. And they are bound at their own charges to follow the Lord's Standard in his march through Wales.

§ 6. *Help to Kidwelly to enable it to build a Town Hall, 1280*

Patent Rolls, 9 Edward I.

CONCERNING THE MURAGE OF KIDWELLY

THE KING to the Bailiffs and true men of Kidwelly.  
Greeting.

Know ye, that at the request of our beloved and faithful Patrick de Chaworth, your Lord, we have granted to you in aid of enclosing your aforesaid town, for the security and safe guarding of the same town and the adjacent parts, that, from the feast of Christmas, in the ninth year of our reign, till the end of the next five years fully completed, you may take the underwritten customs for saleable goods coming into your town, namely :

For each cartload of cloth	2d.
For each horseload of cloth	1d.
For each pipe of wine	2d.
For each cartload of wool	4d.
For each horseload of wool	1d.

For each cartload of honey <sup>1</sup>	2d.
For each cartload of iron	2d.
For each cartload of sea-fish	2d.
For each horseload of the same	½d.
For each cartload of corn in the straw	1d.
For each cartload of bread	1d.
For each cartload of ox- or horse-hides	2d.
For each horseload of such hides	½d.
For each cartload of salt	1d.
For each horseload of salt	½d.
For each horseload of goat-, sheep-, or lamb-skins	1d.
For each horseload of flour	½d.
For each horseload of apples, pears, or fruit	½d.
For each man-load of corn in the straw	½d.
For each horse or mare, ox or cow	½d.
For ten old or young sheep	1d.
For six goats	1d.
For four pigs	1d.
For each horseload of thread web	1d.
For each man-load of such web	½d.
For forty fox-, or squirrel-skins	1d.
For twenty fox-, or squirrel-skins	½d.

And therefore we command that from the aforesaid feast of Christmas, until the end of the aforesaid five years, ye may take those customs as is aforesaid. But when that term is complete, those customs shall wholly cease and be deleted.

Witness the King at the Tower of London, the 8th day of December.

<sup>1</sup> Here and everywhere else, unless stated otherwise, the cartload is always followed by the horseload at half the value.

## THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

### § I. *Bishops' Injunctions to Monastic Houses*

1401. Brecon

*Episcopal Registers of St. Davids.* (Cymrodorion  
Society's Publications.)

GUY, &c., to . . . brother John, perpetual prior of the priory of Brecon, and the convent of the same place. . . . Whereas we, by our ordinary authority, making a visitation in very deed of the said priory on the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of November 1401, &c., found among other things in the same visitation that, thou, the prior aforesaid, without consulting your fellow-monks and brethren, by thine own and rash authority hast carried away and caused to be carried away from the same priory letters, muniments, and unions of benefices of the said priory, deputing the same to the individual keeping of secular persons unknown to us and thy brethren, as shown by thy various answers then uttered there in our said visitation . . . an inevitable prejudice to the said priory unless a remedy be applied promptly; and thou dost administer and govern by thyself all the goods of the said priory and connected with it in any manner whatsoever, and thou dost bear every office and administration, namely the offices of cellarer, sacristan, and almoner, and hast administered the same at the pleasure and arbitrament of thy own will, although according to the regular discipline and the canonical sanctions nothing is your own but all things are in common, never throughout the whole time of thy rule rendering account, as thou art bound to do, before thy brethren of what thou hast received belonging to the priory and of thy administration.

1401. *Carmarthen*

Whereas we, &c., on the 14th, 15th, and 16th days of November, and the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of December in lawful continuation, in the year 1401, making a visitation in very deed of the priory, found amongst other things in our same visitation that some of the canons and brethren of your said house, namely John Rudbard, Walter Hopkyn, John Mathew, and others, bring and entice into their cells private persons, seculars, entertaining them there and there disparaging their prior and other brethren, . . . and they live too dissolutely, going out of bounds without the leave of the prior or, in his absence, of the sub-prior, either asked or obtained for this, but expressly against and contrary to their plain prohibition, which things we forbid to be done for the future under the penalty written below. . . .

We will, nevertheless, and enjoin that the portion of each of the canons assigned for clothing be laid out in that same use at the view of the prior and receivers, in order that it be not consumed wastefully (which God forbid) and the religious themselves go about in filthy dress to the manifest scandal of the order and religion. And we also ordain strictly that one canon be elected yearly by consent of you, or at least of the greater and saner part of the convent to be cellarer, who, under the prior, however, shall bear and govern the care of the whole house and the ministers of the same and of the entertainment of guests, to whose office we have assigned by these presents all the temporalities of the house, rents, profits, and the obventions and oblations of the churches of St. Peter, Carmarthen, and of the Blessed David, Abergwilly, with the chapel of Ebernant, out of which he shall minister to the prior and convent aforesaid necessities in eatables and drinkables, support the entertainment of those coming to the house, and pay the servants of the house their stipends, he not exceeding the sum of 200 marks in the year without great and reasonable cause. . . .

And that thou cause the silver cups, brazen vessels, silver spoons, counterpanes and sheets, and the other common goods of the house, lent by thee, prior, to Henry Wytfort, to be restored and brought back to the same priory forthwith, under the penalty written below, and that thou cause the Bible of the house lent long ago to the vicar of Lagharn to be brought back.

1402. *St. Dogmaels*

Whereas we by our ordinary authority making a visitation in very deed of your said monastery on the 7th and 10th days of the month January lawfully continued in the year of the Lord 1401-2, and in the fifth year of our consecration, found, among other things, in our same visitation that first by pestilence, then by your neglect, the usual number of the canons serving God in the same monastery is so diminished in such excessive number that, where there used to be a full convent of honest monks, scarcely three monks professed are now conversant in the same, consuming the sustenance of a very large number, to the manifest withdrawal of divine worship. For which cause we enjoin on you that you make provision of honest persons to be clothed with you in the habit of regulars, whose conversation in times past may afford a good presumption for the future, so that by the feast of Pentecost next there may be conversant nine in number at the least, in order that by the multiplication of intercessors the gifts of spiritual grace may be increased. And because we found that from the excessive wandering of the lay brothers among secular persons and dishonourable frequenting of unlawful places, to wit taverns, very great evils and scandals have resulted to the same monastery in persons and things, by necessity of which things we are bound to find a fit remedy for the future, we for this cause enjoin on you under the penalty written below that none of you go to the said town of St. Dogmaels into any tavern, nor make drinking bouts with any one outside the bounds,

nor also at Cardigan, except it be for some honest matter and for a cause which can be approved of. . . .

Also we enjoin that Brother Howel Lange, your fellow-monk and brother, on account of his excess and the evil deeds committed by him, which for a reason we do not now set out, for one whole year from the day of the date of these presents, shall not drink wine or metheglin, on which it has been his habit to get drunk, but he shall give away and distribute his portion of wine to the poor in the abbot's presence; and in this year he shall not go out of the bounds of the said monastery unless in the abbot's company.

1406. *Pill*

And since we have found in the same visitation that your said priory, although greatly oppressed with debt, is overcharging with superfluous and useless men, we enjoin on you, charging you on the penalties abovesaid to expel altogether from the same priory within fifteen days immediately following the receipt of these presents, Richard Wade, John Wade his son, and Thomas Newport, because they are talebearers and sowers of discord among you, the prior and monks, and who are entirely useless to the said priory and wasters of it, and also because the said Thomas Newport lightly laid violent hands on . . . Henry Watkyn, monk of the said priory, and Sir Robert Martyn, rector of the church of Pontfayn, and [also expel] your said prior's father and mother with their household, who are too burdensome and useless to the priory . . . with care, reverence, and honour, not tolerating longer the ministering unto them or any other useless persons of the goods of the priory aforesaid, unless some charitable relief, and this with the express consent of the convent, without the prior, however, and not immoderately, be bestowed on the prior's parents by the hands of the almoner, in no wise to receive in time to come such a useless household for a long stay, under the penalties abovesaid.

*§ 2. Defiance of Excommunication, 1402*

HENCE it is that, whereas our beloved son in Christ, Master Philip Craddok, the judge sufficiently and legally deputed by us for the cause written below, proceeding duly and legally against one Agnes Hugy, notoriously under and subject to our jurisdiction, on account of repeated contumacies and offences alike of the said Agnes committed in not appearing at certain terms and places set for her by him, at the instance and prompting of John Dyer of Carmarthen, in a cause of breach of faith and perjury, excommunicated her and publicly gave notice that she was excommunicated, and, as her contumacy grew greater, increased that sentence of excommunication and publicly gave notice that it was so increased, the equity of law calling for this; nevertheless the same woman, knowing that she had been and was so excommunicated by the judge before-said, and that public notice had been given of this, has not to the present time troubled to seek the benefit of absolution from the said sentence of the greater excommunication, as she ought to have done, and so has remained with hardened heart forty days and more, and still remains, in the said sentence of excommunication, wickedly infecting the Lord's flock by her unlawful communications, and persistently setting at nought the keys of holy mother church, to the great peril of her own soul, a pernicious example, and the manifest contempt of holy mother church, as we have fully learned by letters of the said judge sealed with the authentic seal of his office.

*§ 3. Absentee Clergy, 1402*

ALTHOUGH all those admitted to the cure and rule of parish churches are bound by the sacred canons to reside personally in such churches and duly minister the sacraments . . . to the parishioners of the same, nevertheless Sirs Howell Curteys, rector of the parish church of Vaynorweyno [and

five others] of our diocese, not troubling to reside in their said churches, but running to and fro elsewhere in wantonness like vagabonds, lead a life dissolute above measure, and inhumanly and disobediently leave these their churches unserved, and have left them so for no small time, to the great peril of the souls of their parishioners, the scandal of themselves, and a pernicious example to others. Wherefore we, being unable for the pastoral office laid upon us, to tolerate that the cure of the said churches be unserved as aforesaid, to the peril of souls, have given in command to Master John Fayreford to admonish these Sirs Howel [and the other five], if they can be found in person, or cause them to be admonished, that within two months to be numbered continuously from the times of the monitions they go to such their churches, . . . and under penalty of the law reside in the same as the cure of such churches requires, and each of them reside in his said church as aforesaid.

#### § 4. *Absolution for the Murder of a Priest, 1486*

**T**O the venerable father in Christ, &c., the Bishop of St. Davids. . . . Julian, by the mercy of the Lord, Bishop of Ostia, sendeth greeting. . . . A petition offered unto us on behalf of Walter ap John of Stacorse, layman of your diocese, contained that by instigation of the devil he lately killed one Roger Walter, priest of the said place . . . on which account he falls under the sentence of excommunication pronounced in general terms against such as do these things, upon which things he has caused supplication to be humbly made setting forth the same, for a due remedy to be mercifully provided for him by the apostolic see. We therefore, by authority of the lord pope, . . . commit to your prudence that if this is so, when he shall have gone by all the larger churches of that place where so great a crime was perpetrated, naked and unshod with only his breeches on, bearing a rod in his hand and a yoke about his neck, if he can with safety, and caused himself to be beaten before the doors of the churches aforesaid, and with the

priests of the same saying a penitential psalm, when the multitude of the people in these is greatest, publicly confessing his sin, and when he shall have adequately satisfied, if he have not already done so, the church which the murdered priest served, and when he and his heirs have been deprived for ever of any fee or right of patronage he hold of the church . . . you shall absolve this layman from the said sentence and such guilt and excess of priest-murder in the accustomed form of the church, and enjoin on him therefor . . . such penance as may be to him for salvation and to others for terror.

### *§ 5. Licence of Absence for Study, 1487*

HUGH, &c., to Sir David Nant, rector of the parish church of Lawrenny of our diocese, greeting, &c. Inclining to the prayers poured forth to us on thy behalf, that for three years, to be numbered continuously from the date of these presents, thou mayest absent thyself from thy church aforesaid in some university . . . and for all the time aforesaid mayest let thy abovesaid church at farm we . . . impart to thee such licence, provided nevertheless that in the meantime thy same church be laudably served in divine things, and the cure of souls be diligently exercised in the same, and that thou leave a proctor there who in thy absence shall answer to us, and all thy other ordinaries interested, in thy stead.

### *§ 6. Appointment of a Schoolmaster, 1488*

WHEREAS we, &c., to whom sole and entire the right of conferring the grammar schools in our city and diocese of St. Davids . . . is well known to pertain, have appointed our beloved in Christ, Richard Smyth, master in arts, chaplain in our church of the Blessed Mary, Haverford, . . . to be master of the grammar school in the said Haverford, and to rule the same grammar school, and to inform unlearned youths in grammar and the other liberal sciences. . . . Therefore we

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inhibit and admonish, once, twice, and thrice, that no one . . .  
dare contrary to this our appointment to rule such school in  
the said town of Haverford and any place within a circum-  
ference of seven miles of the same town, without obtaining  
the licence of the aforesaid master, or in any wise whatsoever  
presume to attempt anything about the premises to the  
prejudice of the aforesaid Master Richard, under pain of  
contempt and the greater excommunication to be pronounced  
against contemners and violators of our present appointment.

## XXI

### THE END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

In spite of Glyndwr's revolt and the penal laws passed against the Welsh, many Welshmen played a prominent part in the last part of the Hundred Years' War, and the records of the French wars are full of Welsh names, and though we know little or nothing of most of these men, they were beginning to forget narrow nationalism in a wider patriotism.

#### *Welshmen in the last part of the War*

1423. *Wars of the English in France.* Rolls edition.

THE names of the Englishmen of the most noblest at the bataylle of Cravant. [Twenty-four names follow, amongst them] Mathe Gogh (Matthew Gough), Rice Apmadoke.<sup>1</sup>

1450. *List of the castles, &c., lost during the administration of the Duke of Somerset.*

30th September. The town and castle of Carentan in like manner surrendered by composition to the said Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Rhys ap Madoc was in the service of the Duke of Bedford. He received denizenship, that is the right of citizenship, 'at the special request of the House of Commons for his sovereign heroism at Crevant and Verneuil', 1424. (Howell T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*.)

Bretagne, the captain of which was Matthew Goth and William Herbard<sup>1</sup> for the Lord of Saye.

*Worcester's Collections*, ii. 619.

The town, city and castle of Bayeux, after very severe assaults and skirmishes, the walls being pierced by the great cannon, was taken by composition, the captain of which was Matthew Gough, Esquire, surpassing all the other esquires who engaged in the war at that time in bravery, hardihood, loyalty, and liberality.

*Hall's Chronicle.*

1444. The Erle of Suffolk (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes or to muche affeccionate to this unprofitable mariage<sup>2</sup> condiscended and agreed to their nocion, that the Duchie of Aniou and the countie of Mayne should be released and delivered to the kyng her father, demaundyng for her mariage neither peny nor farthing.

*Extract from a letter of King Charles VII to King Henry VI,  
complaining of the delay in the Surrender of Maine*

*Wars of the English in France*, ii, part 1.

1445. Moreover, most high and powerful prince, our dear nephew, you know the promises made by you to us touching the deliverance of Le Mans, and the other places which were in subjection to you in the comté of Maine, and the causes by which you have been moved to do this, which are that you might the more easily attain the advantage of a peace between you and us. . . . And in this matter concerning the business of the said deliverance, both before and since the time when it ought to have been done, as well in regard to Matthew Go<sup>3</sup> and Foulques Heton,<sup>4</sup> commissioners appointed by you to do this, as also in regard to Mundeford<sup>5</sup> and the others who held the said places, we have done our duty in every way in which

<sup>1</sup> William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage of Henry VI of England to Margaret René of Anjou.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Gough.

<sup>4</sup> Fouques Eton or Eyton.

<sup>5</sup> Osberne Mundeford.

it could be done. . . . To these the persons above said would in no wise obey, and seeing the subterfuges, pretences, and dissimulations to which they resorted . . . we sent our accredited messengers and ambassadors to the members of your great council at Rouen, to show them at full length the matters above said. Between which your said councillors . . . and our ambassadors . . . there have been made certain arrangements for the good of the said matters, which, as we think, have been notified . . . unto you . . . and neither to these arrangements nor to the commandments by virtue of them made on your part unto the summons and requests made on our part to the said Matthew Go, Heton, Mundeford, and others who keep these fortresses has any obedience or submission been made.

*Commission for the Delivery of Maine to Charles VII, 1447*

*Wars of the English in France, ii, part 2, p. 696.*

Henry, &c., to our well-beloved Matthew Gothe and Fouques Eton, Esquires.

Since, in order to give real and actual effect to a certain arrangement heretofore by us made so as to put and give unto the hands of our most dear uncle in France, the city, town, and castle of Le Mans, together with all the castles, towns, and fortresses, and generally all that we own and possess, and which is in obedience to us within the Comté of Maine . . . we have deputed and commissioned you to take and receive, upon our part, and into our hands, from our very dear and well-beloved cousin the Marquis of Dorset . . . the city, towns, castles, and fortresses, and other things above said. We order and command you . . . that the things above said . . . by you thus received . . . without any delay or default, you give and deliver to our said uncle of France or his commissioners.<sup>1</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> Gough, Eton, and Mundeford appear to have disliked equally the surrender of Maine, 'the very stayes and backestandes to the Duchy of Normandy', to the French, and to have played into each other's hands to cause delays. On this occasion Mundeford refused to deliver Le Mans without a formal discharge from the Marquis of Dorset (Edmund Beaufort).

## WALES DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

These wars were between the rival houses of Lancaster and York for the possession of the crown, but both houses had great possessions in Wales and the Marches. Lancaster held lands to the west of the Wye in the district round Monmouth and Chepstow, large parts of Carmarthenshire and South Pembroke, the district round Cilgerran and Newcastle Emlyn, while as King, Henry VI had dominion over the shire lands formed in 1284 by Edward I. The Duke of York had inherited the vast possessions of the Mortimers in east central Wales, while his house also had land or influence in Denbigh, Pembroke, and elsewhere. Many of their chief supporters were also lords of the March. For instance, the Earl of Warwick held the great lordship of Glamorgan; the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham and descended from Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III, held Brecon; Talbots were found round Shrewsbury, while a Grey was still found in Ruthin.

It is not surprising then to find that many of the armies were largely recruited in the Marches, that each side looked upon Wales as a place of refuge and a district already so lawless that a little added disorder would hardly be noticed. Many of the battles were fought on the border of Wales; for example, Blore Heath (September 1459), Ludford (October 1459), Mortimer's Cross (February 1461), Tewkesbury (May 1471). Harlech was the very last fortress to hold out for Lancaster, and, when the last battle had been fought at Bosworth Field (August 1485), a Welshman became King of England and united the rival houses.

§ I. *Owen Tudor*

*Polydore Vergil*, Camden Society edition, p. 62.

ABOUT that time also dyed Katherine,<sup>1</sup> King Henryes mother, who was interred at Westminster, in the sepulchre of her predecessors. This woman, after the death of her husband, King Henry the Fifth, being but yonge in yeres, and thereby of lesse discretion to judge what was decent for her

<sup>1</sup> Katherine died on 3rd January 1437. According to the Chronicle of London, her marriage was unknown until she died.

estate, married one Owen Tyder, a gentleman of Wales, adorned with wonderfull giftes of body and minde, who derived his pedigree from Cadwallider,<sup>1</sup> the last King of the Brittons, by whom she had three sonnes, Edmonde, Jaspar and the thirde, who was a monke of the order of St. Benet, and lived not long after, and one daughter who was made a noone. Afterwarde Kinge Henry made Edmond earle of Richmonde, and Jaspar earle of Pembroke, because they were his brothers on his mother's side.

After the death of Queene Katherine, the saide Owen was twice committed to warde by the Duke of Gloucester, because he had been so presumptuous as by marriage with the younge Queen to intermix his bloudde with the noble race of kinges, and in the end was beheaded.

§ 2. *Lord Herbert<sup>2</sup> sent to Wales against Jaspar Tudor,*  
*9 September 1461*

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st Series, vol. i, p. 16.

AS for any grate doyng in Wales I trust to God we shal not doubte: The Lord Herbert and the Lord Ferrers<sup>3</sup> of Chartley with divers gentilmen ben gon afore to clese the countrye afore us.

*Flight of Jaspar Tudor, 4 October 1461*

*Paston Letters*, No. 416.

As fore tidyngs, the Kyng<sup>4</sup> wolbe at London withyn III. deies next comyng; and all the castelles and holdes in South Wales, and in North Wales, ar gyfen and ydden up into the Kynges hand. And the Duc of Excestre<sup>5</sup> and th' erle of

<sup>1</sup> Owen's descent from Cadwaladr is traditional, and cannot be proved, but there is no doubt that his family was one of great antiquity. Owen's father was through his mother cousin to Owain Glyndwr (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>2</sup> William Herbert was made Lord Herbert at Edward's coronation.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, was Herbert's father-in-law.      <sup>4</sup> Edward IV.      <sup>5</sup> Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter.

Pembrok ar floon and taken the mounteyns, and dyvers Lordes with gret puissans are after them; and the most part of gentilmen and men of worship ar cōmén yn to the Kyng, and have grace of all Wales.

William of Worcester, *Annals*, p. 788.

A certain man was captured in Wales carrying letters from Queen Margaret to the castle of Harlech, and was sent to the king in London by Lord Herbert, who accused many of treachery to the king, and amongst others he accused the Earl of Warwick because he had heard suspicious words from beyond the sea that the earl was favouring the party of Queen Margaret. . . . In the end the matter was proved trifling.

### § 3. *The Fall of Harlech Castle, 1468*

William of Worcester, *Annals*, p. 79.

**S**HORTLY after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Jaspar, Earl of Pembroke, with three French ships arrived in North Wales, near Harlech, with fifty men and a few pence. The ships were sent back to Normandy, but one of them was taken in a very clever way by Lord Herbert's men. But the said Jaspar riding through North Wales, the country people rose with him to the number of two thousand, and they came to the royal town of Denbigh, which they despoiled and burnt. But Lord Herbert, in charge for the king, coming to North Wales with ten thousand armed men, through his brother,<sup>1</sup> completely overcame the said Jaspar in the field, and forced him to flee, and having captured as many as twenty persons, had them beheaded.

But the said Lord Herbert, laying siege to the castle of Harlech, continued there till the eve of the Assumption. On which day, David Abenon,<sup>2</sup> captain of the castle, surrendered the castle to the will of Lord Herbert and the mercy of the king. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Richard Herbert.

<sup>2</sup> David ab Eynon.

On the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, the king created Lord Herbert Earl of Pembroke, on account of his notable capture of the said castle.

#### § 4. *Harlech and Edgecote Hill*

*Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.*

MY great-great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero who (in the history of Hall and Grafton as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his pole-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis du Gaul or the Knight of the Sun.

I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgecote Hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands : one is, that the said Richard Herbert being employed together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke, to reduce certain rebels in North Wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech Castle, in Merionethshire ; the captain of this place<sup>1</sup> had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said he had kept a castle in France so long that he made the old women in Wales talk of him, and that he would keep this castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him, and indeed as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrendering himself upon condition that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life, which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward IV, desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer upon this hope ; but the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert that he had no power by his commission

<sup>1</sup> David ab Einon. No record of this captain's work in France has come down to us.

to pardon any, and therefore might after the representation hereof to his majesty safe deliver him up to justice, Sir Richard Herbert answered he had not yet done the best he could for him, and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out, or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life. The king, finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service.

The other history is, that Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesea apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times the Earl of Pembroke, thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged, whereupon the mother of them coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl finding them all equally guilty, said he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms (for so the relation goeth), she on her knees cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. The earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgecote Field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, at the head of his men, leaning upon his pole-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner; whereupon the earl said, ‘What! doth thy great body’ (for he was higher by the head than any one in the army) ‘apprehend anything, that thou art so melancholy? or art thou weary

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with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy pole-axe ?' Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently, 'only I cannot but apprehend on your part, lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you ?....

.... When the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward IV, at the battle abovesaid, the earl never entreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's.

### § 5. *The Battle of Edgecote or Banbury, 1469*

*Warkworth's Chronicle* (Camden Society, pp. 6-7).

AND in the ix yere of the reyne of Kynge Edward, at myssomere, the Duke of Clarence<sup>1</sup> passede the see to Caleis to the Erle of Warwyke, and there weddede his daughter by the Archebysshoppes of Yorke<sup>2</sup> the Erle of Warwyke brother, and afterwarde came overe agane. And anone aftere that, by ther assignment, there was a grete insurrecyon in Yorkeschyre, of dyvers knyghtes, squyres and comeners, to the noumbere of xx. m.; and Sere William Conyars, knyghte, was therre capteyne, whiche callede hymself Robyne of Riddesdale<sup>3</sup>; and agens them arose, by the Kynges com-mawndement, Lorde Harbarde, Erle of Penbroke, withe xlivi. m. of Walschemenne, the beste in Wales, and Humfray Stafforde,<sup>4</sup> with vii. m. of archers of the Wast countre; and as thei went togodere to mete the northemenne at a towne,

<sup>1</sup> George, brother of Edward IV, jealous of the king's power, and so used as a tool by the far abler Warwick. He went to Calais in July 1469, and there married Warwick's daughter, Isabella Neville.

<sup>2</sup> George Neville.

<sup>3</sup> There is some doubt as to who Robin of Redesdale really was, but the most probable suggestion is that he was Sir John Conyers of Hornby, who was connected with the Neville clan by his marriage with a cousin of Warwick.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Stafford of Southwick, who had been created Earl of Devon in May of that year.

there fell in a varyaunce for ther logynge, and so the Erle of Devenschyre departed from the Erle of Penbroke withe alle his menne.

And Robyne of Riddesdale came uppone the Walschemenne in a playne byyonde Banbury towne, and ther thei faughte strongly togedere, and ther was the Erle of Penbroke takene, and his brother with hym, and two m. Walschmenne slayne, and so the Walschmen loste the felde the xxvi day of Juylle the same yere. The names of the gentylmen that were slayne of the Walsche party in the same battelle<sup>1</sup> :—Sir Roger Vaghan, knyght ; Herry Organ, sonne and heyre,<sup>2</sup> Thomas a grosschere Vaghan,<sup>3</sup> squyere ; William Hararde of Brethnoke, squyere ; Watkyn Thomas,<sup>4</sup> sonne to Roger Vaghan ; Yvan ap Jhon of Merwyke ; Davy ap Jankyn of Lymmeryke ; Harry Donn of Pikton<sup>5</sup> ; John Done of Kydwelle<sup>6</sup> ; Ryse ap Morgan ap Ulston<sup>7</sup> ; Jankyn Perot ap Scottesburgh<sup>8</sup> ; John Eneand<sup>9</sup> of Penbrokeshire ; and John Contowr of Herforde.<sup>10</sup> . . . And at that time was the Lord Ryvers takene, and one of his sonnes in the forest of Dene, and brought to Northamtone, and the Erle of Penbroke and Sire Richard Herbarde his brother were behedede at Northamtone, alle iiiii. by the commawndement of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke, and Thomas Hararde was slayne at Brystow, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The lists of slain vary in Warkworth, Hall, Worcester, &c. Mr. Howel T. Evans says : ‘ It is probable that Sir Roger Vaughan did not take part in the battle ; he certainly was not slain there, for Lewis Glyncothi calls upon him to avenge Banbury.’

<sup>2</sup> Herry Organ, i. e. Henry Wogan’s son John.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas ap Roger Vaughan.

<sup>4</sup> There is some doubt as to who this was.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Dwnn, or Down.

<sup>6</sup> John Dwnn of Kidwelly was not killed at Edgecote.

<sup>7</sup> Rice ap Morgan of Ilston, Gower.

<sup>8</sup> Jenkin Perrot of Scotsborough near Tenby.

<sup>9</sup> John Eynon of Pembrokeshire. <sup>10</sup> John Contour of Hereford.

§ 6. *Jaspar Tudor flies to France, 1471*

*Polydore Vergil*, old translation (Camden Society edition, p. 154).

**H**OWBEYT, Jaspar Erle of Pembrowgh, when he understoode that the Quene was vanquysshed in a fowghten feilde at Tewkesbury, and that matters wer past all hope of recovery, retyryd with his retynew, which he was conductyng to his confederates, bak agayne to Chepstow. Whyle he heare taryed lamenting that headynesse, which alway ys blynde and improvident, had utterly overthrowne the universall powr of King Henry, and delyberatynge with his frends what course was best to take, behold one Roger Vaughan,<sup>1</sup> a very valyant man, sent thyther by King Edward for that purpose, went about by a trayn<sup>2</sup> to take him; whereof therle being advertysyd tooke the sayd Roger within the towne and cut of his head; and so he sufferyd death at therles apoyntment which himself assayd by gyle to have brought therle unto. . . . Therle departyd from thence to Pembrowghe, whom incontinent Morgan Thomas,<sup>3</sup> sent by King Edward, besegyd, and kept in with diche and trenche that he might not escape; but the viith day folowing he was delyveryd from that distres by Davyd, brother to the sayd Morgan hys assuryd faythfull frind, and departyd furthwith to a towne by the sea syde caulyd Tynby, where having a barke preapyd owt of hand he saylyd into France with his broother's soon Henry Erle of Richemond, and certane other his frindes and servantes, whose chaunce being to arryve in Brytayne he presentyd himself humbly to Francisse duke ther, and reporting the cause of his cooming, submyttyd himself and his nephew to

<sup>1</sup> That is, Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower.

<sup>2</sup> Plot.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noticing that Mr. H. T. Evans throws doubt on this story, pointing out that Morgan ap Thomas, a grandson of Griffith ap Nicholas, previously mentioned, and his family 'had been consistent supporters of Jasper, and that only in the previous December this Morgan ap Thomas had given conspicuous manifestation of hostility to Edward's government'.

his protection. The duke receavyd them willingly, and with suche honor curtesy and favor intertaynyd them as though they had bene his brootheres, promysing them uppon his honour that within his domynyon they showld bee from thencefurth far from injury, and passe at ther pleasure to and fro without danger.

### *§ 7. Edward IV's Efforts to get possession of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond*

*Polydore Vergil*, old translation (Camden Society edition, p. 167).

**T**HUS King Edward, being delyveryd from a great part of his cares and causes of feare, to thintent ther showld not remane any trace or tracke of the faction adverse, determinyd utterly to destroy the remnaunt of his enemyes wheresoever they wer.<sup>1</sup> . . . But yeat because he might have soomwhat to think uppon, and that he showld not lyve altogether in parfyte securytie, he had intelligence at the same time that therles of Pembrough and Richemond were transported into Bryteyn, and of the duke ther curtesly receavyd and intertaynd ; which matter indeed he tooke very grevously, and though hys mynd gave him that soome evell wold coome therby, which to prevent he sent in all hast secret messengers to the duke, promysing to geave great rewardes so that he wold make delyvery of both therles. The duke herd willingly king Edwardes ambassage, and whan he understande that therles were so riche a pray he determinyd not to let them go, but to kepe them more warely than befoor, makyng answer to thambassaders that he might not delyver them to the king, bye reason of his promyse and fydelyte geaven to the contrary ; but he wold for his cause kepe them so sure as ther should be none occasion for him to suspect that they should ever procure his harme any maner of way. . . . The duke than seing that the

<sup>1</sup> Polydore Vergil goes on to say how Edward imprisoned George Neville, Archbishop of York and the Earl of Oxford, how he made a truce with Scotland, &c.

remanyng of those two erles with him redoundyd to his advantage, least peradventure they might depart soome other wher, devydyd them in sundre, and, removyng from them thinglishe servyteures which they brought with them, placyd men of his owne country to wayt uppon and gard them.<sup>1</sup>

*Polydore Vergil*, pp. 164-7 (abridged).

1476. Edward determinyd yeat once agane to solycyte Francisse duke of Brytayne, with gyfte, promise, and prayer, to betray the young erle into his handes. . . . And therfor he sent ambassadors in all haste to the duke, loden with great substance of gold, and that his demaunde might seme more honest, he comandyd them to tell the duke that he desyryd erle Henry because he migh make some matche with him in mariage, by affynytie, wheroft the rootes of thadverse faction might be utterly pullyd upp. Thoughe indeede he had no meaning to bring the same to passe by affynytie, but eaven by the very death of erle Henry. The duke herd thambassadors curtesly, and first began to denay, and make many excuses why he migh not lawfully do yt.

At the last, weryd with prayer and vanquisched with pryce, he delyveryd therle to the ambassadors, commending him to King Edward, not supposing that he had commytyd the sheepe to the woolffe, but the sone to the father. Thambassadors departyd with great joy to St. Maloes ther to take shipping, and so to have sayled into England. But erle Henry, knowing that he was caryed to his death, throughghe agony of mynde, fell into a fever.

In which mean time, John Chenlet,<sup>2</sup> a man of suche reputation among the nobles of Bretayne as that regyon had few lyke, and whom the duke acceptyd specially well above all other, was in the country; but after he knew of the matter, he reparyed to the court, presentyd himself to the duke, standing a prety whyle very sad and heavy without speaking,

<sup>1</sup> At this time Henry Tudor was about fifteen years old, having been born in 1457.

<sup>2</sup> Jean de Quelenec, Admiral of Brittany.

so that the duke, marvaling to see him in suchе dumpes, demandid what the matter was that made him so pensyffe as his countenance pretendyd. Whereto John awnsweryd : ‘ Most noble duke, this palenes ys unto me a messenger of death . . . for your late fact<sup>1</sup> . . . will surely cause the loss of my lyfe, or alteration of my condition and state, or at least from henceforth perpetually to lyve most myserable ; for you, lately, forgetting your promyse and faith geaven, have delyveryd Henry Erle of Richemond, that most innocent ympe<sup>2</sup> to be torn in pieces by bloody butchers, to be myserably tormentyd and fynally to be slane.’ To these woordes the duke replied immediately : ‘ Peace my trustie and welbelovyd John, I pray the ; ther will no suche thing happen to erle Henry, for King Edward is desirous to make him his soone in lawe.’ Than John sayd : ‘ Beleve me, Henry is almost lost alreadie whom yf yow shalle once permtyt to step one foote owt of your Jurisdiction, all that world shalle not after that be hable to save his lyfe.’ The duke was movyd with these woordes of John Chenelet and sent incontynent Peter Landofe,<sup>3</sup> his treasurer, to stay therle.

Peter usyng great celerytie came anon after thinglishe ambassadors unto St. Maloes, and counterfayting some busynes, while that by long talk devysyd of purpose he hinderyd them of ther intendyd voyage, he causyd erle Henry, almost dead, to be browght polytykly into a most sure sayntuary within the sayd towne, and not long after reducyd him agane to the duke, delyveryd from feare of death, and by that occasion pretyly well amendyd.

<sup>1</sup> Act, deed.

<sup>2</sup> Imp = a shoot or suckling of a plant, then a shoot or branch of a noble house, a scion, offspring (usually male), then any child without any idea of mischievousness, then, as here, a young man. Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto ix, ‘ Well worthy, ympe’, used of Arthur. Ibid., x, ‘ And thou, faire ymp, sprong out from English race.’ Lylly, *Euphues*, ‘ There dwelt in Athens a young gentleman of great patrimony. . . . It happened this young impe to arrive at Naples.’

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Landois.

§ 8. *Grants of Edward V to Henry, Duke of Buckingham*

*Grants of Edward V* (Camden Society, pp. 7-8, abridged).

TO Henry, Duke of Buckingham. The Lord King has made his Chief Justice and Chamberlain in South Wales and North Wales, giving him for the duration of his life, power and authority to do in North and South Wales all things which pertain to the aforesaid offices. And he has constituted the same duke Constable and Steward of the castle and county of Carmarthen, of the castle and county of Cardigan, &c., of the castle of Aberystwyth in the county of Cardigan, of the castle of Dynevor in South Wales, Tenby, Cilgerran, Llanstephan, Walwyn's Castle in the county of Pembroke, Haverfordwest, &c. He has constituted him also Constable, Seneschal, and Receiver of the castles, demesne, and manor of Usk, Caerleon, Dynas, Ewyas Lacy, Builth, Clifford, Radnor, Melenneth, Montgomery, Denbigh, Elfael, Narberth, Wigmore, Holt, Bromfield, &c.<sup>1</sup>

§ 9. *Buckingham's Conspiracy, 1483*

*Polydore Vergil*, p. 194.

THE Duke of Buckingham thus affectyd accompanyd King Richard not long after as he journeyed towardes Yorke unto Gloucester, from thence with his consent he repayred into Wales, wher a great part of his lyvings lay. Heare the while of his tary, provokyd partly by fresche memory of the late receavyd injury, partly repenting that hitherto of himself hee had not resystyd King Richardes evell enterpryse . . . he resolvyd to seperate himself from him : . . . and, so he began to discover his intent to John Bishop of Ely<sup>2</sup> whom he had

<sup>1</sup> And of many more, including royal castles, manors, offices, &c., in all parts of Wales, thus giving him extraordinary power in Wales in addition to his own large estates there.

<sup>2</sup> This is John Morton (of 'Morton's fork' fame), afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (1486-1500). He had supported the Lancastrians, loyally

in Brecknock Castle. . . . Then the duke unfoldyd all thinges to the bishop of Ely, . . . shewing how he had devysyd the meane wherby both the bloods of King Edward and of Henry the Sixth that yeat was remaining, being conjoynyd by affinytie might be restoryd to the domynion dew unto both ther progenyes. The meane was this, that Henry erle of Richemond, who (as the report went) was, after knowledge of King Edwardes death, delyveryd by Francys duke of Brytayne out of prison, might be sent for in all haste possyble, and assystyd with all that they might do, so that he wold promyse before by solemn othe, that after he had once obtaynyd the kingdom he wold take to wyfe Elyzabeth, King Edward's eldest daughter. The bishop of Ely alowyd as well the dukes devyse as the maner of performing the same, and procuryd one Renold Bray,<sup>1</sup> servant to Margaret erle Henry his mother, who had maryed Thomas lord Stanley, to come unto the duke in Wales, and his pleasure knownen to return spedely unto the said Margaret, and certify her of all things which had bene delyberatyd betwixt him and the duke concernyng common saftie. . . .

Now before the Duke all in a rage had begun to be alyenate in mynde from King Richard, the same very time a plot of new conspiracy was layd at London betwixt Elyzabeth the quene, wyfe to King Edward, and Margaret, mother to erle Henry, in this sort. This Margaret for want of health usid

going into exile with them, and been attainted ; but after Tewkesbury he submitted to Edward IV, and was imprisoned by Richard because he upheld the little Edward V.

<sup>1</sup> Reginald Bray, second son of Sir Richard Bray, a member of the Privy Council under Henry VI, and possibly his physician (Leland). Reginald acted as steward to Sir Henry Stafford, Margaret Beaufort's second husband, and continued in her service till he entered that of her third husband. After 1485 he was rewarded by Henry VII, created knight, and still employed. He helped Henry VII to build the chapel of St. George at Windsor and the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster, the latter, it is said, from his own design.

thadvysc of a phisition namyd Lewys, a Welshman born, who, because he was a grave man and of no smaule experiance, she was wont oftentimes to conferre frely with all, and with him famlyarly to lament her adversitie. . . . Wherfor . . . she utteryd to Lewys that the time was now coom when as king Edwardes eldest dowghter might be geaven in maryage to hir sonn Henry, and that King Richerd, accountyd of all men enemy to his countree might easly be dejectyd from all honor and bereft the realme, and therfer prayed him to deale secretly with the quene of suche affayre, for the quene also usyd his head, because he was a very learnyd physytion. . . . Lewys, by and by, doing as he was commandyd, made up the matter easly betwyxt the two women, who because of his seyence becam a messenger betwene them, and was assocyat unto them in this new conspyracy against King Richerd without any suspytion. Thus Margaret being brought in good hope apoynted Raynold Bray her servyteur, a man most faythfull and trustie, to be the chief dealer in this conspyracy, and commanded him to draw unto her partie, as secretly as might be, soom such noble or worshipfull men as wer wyse, faythfull and actyve, who were hable to make help in the cause. Raynold within few days gathered into the conspyracy Gyles Daubeney, knight, &c., . . . having taken an oathe beforehand of every man particularly. . . . But Margaret meanwhile tooke into her famly Christopher Urswyche,<sup>1</sup> an honest, approovyd and serviceable priest, . . . commendyd to hir by Lewys the physytion. Thus the mother, carefull for the well-doing and glory of her soon, gave Christopher in charge to go unto erle Henry into Bryttany, and to signyfy unto him all that was doone with the quene. But before he began to take his journey behold she was sudданely advertysid of the same practyse<sup>2</sup> purposyd by the duke of Buckingham, which whan she knew she alteryd her intent, staying Christopher at home, and sent Hugh Conway into Bryttane unto hir soon

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Urswick.

<sup>2</sup> Scheme, plot, plan.

Henry with a good great sum of money, commanding him to utter all thinges, and exhort his retурне, and especially to advyse him to arryve in Wales, wher he should finde ayd in readines. . . .

And because he (King Richard) knew the Duke of Buckingham to be head of the conspyratores, therfor . . . he sent exceeding curteous letters unto the duke that he wold come to him, and gave the messenger who caryed the letters in charge to make in his name fayre promises and by soome good meane perswade him to coome unto the court. The duke, alledging infyrmtie of stomake, awnswered the messenger that presently<sup>1</sup> coome he could not. King Rychard wold admyt none excuse, but sent for him with threatening woords. Then the duke openly denied that he wold coom to his enemy, and withall made ready for warre, and perswaded his confederates furthwith, soom one wher soom other, to rase the people. So almost at one moment and time Thomas Marquye Dorset . . . in Yorkshire, Edward Courtney, with Peter his brother, bysshop of Exeter, in Devonshire, Richard Gylfoord, with certane of great reputation, in Kent, rasyd upp commons every wher to armor and made a begynning of warres. But King Richard . . . because he wold dissypate his forces . . . resolvyd to omyt the resydew, and turn his whole army agaynst the head, that was the duke, . . . and now was he come within two days journey of the towne,<sup>2</sup> when the duke with great force of Walse soldiers, whom he, as a sore and hard dealing man, had brought to the feild agaynst ther wills, and without any lust to fight for him, rather by rigorous commandment than for money, which was the cause of the revolt, went earnestly about to encounter the King, but he was forsaken suddaynly of the more part of his soldiers, and compellyd thereby to fly.<sup>3</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> Immediately, at present.

<sup>2</sup> Salisbury.

<sup>3</sup> The rising was general. Buckingham wished to leave Wales to join his friends, but storms and rain, floods and broken bridges, delayed him nearly

But whan his confederates who had now begun warre, knew that the duke was forsaken of his people, and fled no man wanst whyther, they were sudainly dismayd, every man fled without hope of saftie, and other got into sayntuaryes, or wyldernes, or assayed to sayle over the seas, whereof a great part came safe soone after into Brytayne. . . .

Whyle these thinges were doone in England, Henry erle of Richemond had preparyd an army of five thousand Bryttaynes, and furnyshyd a navy of xv shippes. . . . But a little before even suddayn tempest arose, wherwithall he was so afflyctyd that his shippes wer constrainyd by force of a crewell gale of wynde to turne ther course from one way from another; divers of them wer blawen bak into Normandie, others into Bryttany. The ship wherin Henry was, with one other, tossyd all the night long with the waves, cam at the last very early in the morning, whan the winde grew calme, uppon the south coast of the iland, agaynst the haven caulyd Poole. From hence Henry, viewing afur of all the shore beset with soldiers whiche King Richerd had every where disposyd, gave open commandment that not one man of them all showld land before the resydew of the ships showld come togythers: which, while he taryeth for, he sent out a bote to try whether they wer his frindes which hoovyd so in the same place. Than those who wer sent wer earnestly desyryd by the soldiers from the shore to come aland, crying that they wer sent from the duke of Buckingham to be reedy for the accompanying of erle Henry safe into the camp. . . . But erle Henry suspectyng it to be a trayn,<sup>1</sup> as yt was in dede, after that he did see none of his own ships in view, hoysyd<sup>2</sup> upp sale, and with prosperus wynde came into Normandy, so that a man may thinke the very blast of the wynde drove him bak from danger.

a fortnight, and disheartened his army, so that disaster was inevitable. Buckingham himself was captured in Shropshire, carried to Richard at Salisbury, and beheaded.

<sup>1</sup> Snare, plot.

<sup>2</sup> Hoisted.

§ 10. *Henry Tudor's Invasion of England, 1485*

*Richard's new attempt to persuade the Duke of Brittany to imprison Henry Tudor*

*Polydore Vergil (abridged).*

BUT King Richerd was vexyd, wrestyd, and tormentyd in mynd with feare almost perpetually of therle Henry and his confederates returne: wherfor he determinyd to solycit agane the Duke of Brytayne, for money, prayer, and reward, so he sent furthwith specyall messengers to the duke, who, besydes great gyttes which they caryed with them, should promise to geave him ycrely the whole revenues of all the lands appertaining to therle Henry, and the resydew of thinglishe noblyte that were with him, yf he wold from thenceforth kepe them with him in ward. The messengers culd not deale with the duke, for that he was becoome feble by reason of sore and dayly siknes and began to maddle<sup>1</sup>; wherfor Peter Landois, his treasurer, rewlyd all matters as himself lyst, who for that cause had stirryd upp grevously agaynst himself envy of the Bryttishe noblytie, Peter answeryd the ambassadours that he wold do the thing which King Richerd requyryd.

But whyle that messengers and often letters did fly to and fro betwixt Peter and the King, for dispatche of the busynes, John bysshop of Ely, who lyvyd in Flanders, being certfyfyed of that practyse from his fryndes owt of England, gave intelligence to Henry of the plot that was layd, and advysyd therle that he should get himself and thothe noblemen as soone as they might be out of Brytayne. Henry sent Christopher Urswick to King Charles to pray that he myght lawfully passe into France, which thing easily obtanyd, thambassador returnyd to his prince.

Henry himself two days afterwards departing from Vannes, and accompanied with fyve onely servantes, feignyd to go to a frind who had a manor not farre of, and, because an huge

<sup>1</sup> Rave.

multitude of Englishe people was left in the towne nobody suspectyd his voyage: but whan he had journayed almost fyve myles he withdrew hastely out of the highe way into the next wood, and doing on a serving mans apparell, he as a servant folowyd one of his owne servants (who was his guyde in that journay) as thowghe he had bene his maister, and rode on with so great celerytie, keping yeat no certane way, that he made no stay any where, except it were to bate his horses, before he had gotten himself to his company within the bounds of Angeow.<sup>1</sup>

*§ 11. Preparations of Richard III to resist  
Henry Tudor*

*Polydore Vergil.*

**K**ING RICHARD after this understoode by his spyalls that Henry, hinderyd emongst the Frenche by reason of the time, grew weary with contynuall demauding of ayd, that he profytyd nothing, nor that anything went forward with him, but that all thinges which he dilygently had devysyd fell out not well; which whan he belevyd to be so, as though he had vanquished the whole warres, and had been delyveryd from all feare, supposyd that ther was no cause why he showld take such care in a matter of no danger, caulyd his shippes from ther stations, and all the soldiers which he had before placyd heare and there to kepe thenemy; but least he might be found altogether unready, he commanded noble men and gentlemen dwellynge about the sea coste, and chiefly the Walshe men, to kepe watche by course after ther country maner, to thintent that his adversaryes showld not have ready recovery of the shore and coome a land; for th'inhabytantes

<sup>1</sup> Peter Landois sent out men in pursuit of Henry, but a few days later the duke, recovering his wits, was angry with his minister for his treachery, and calling to him Edward Poynings and Edward Woodville, commanded them to conduct all the Englishmen left in Brittany to Henry, giving them money for their journey and friendly messages to their master.

about the sea costes place, in the time of warrs especyally, on the hills adyoyning lampes fastenyd upon frames of timber, and whan any great or notable matter happeneth, by reason of thaproche of enemyes they suddanely lyght the lampes, and with shewtes through towne and fielde geave notice therof; from thence others afterward receave and utter unto ther neighbors notice after the same sort. Thus ys the fame therof caryed spedly to all villages and townes, and both country and towne arme themselves agaynst thenemy.

§ 12. *Proclamation against Henry Tudor,*  
23 June 1485

R. R.

*Paston Letters, No. 883.*

RICARDUS, &c., salutem. Praecipimus tibi, &c.

Forasmuche as the Kyng our sovereign Lord hath certeyn knowledge that Piers Bisshop of Exeter,<sup>1</sup> Jasper Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, callyng hymself Erle of Pembroke, John, late Erle of Oxon,<sup>2</sup> and Sir Richard Wodevyle,<sup>3</sup> with other dyvers his rebelles and traytors, disabled and atteynted by the auctorite of High Court of Parlement, of whom many be knownen for open murdrers, advoutrers,<sup>4</sup> and extorcioners contrary to the pleasure of God, and a genst all trouth, honour, and nature, have forsakyn there naturall contrey, takyng them first to be under th'obeisance of the Duke of Bretayn, and to hym promysed certeyn thyngs whiche by him and his counsell were thought thyngs to gretly unnaturall and abominable for them to graunt, observe, kepe, and perfowrme, and therfor the same utterly refused.

The seid traytors, seyng the seid Duke and his counsell wolde not aide nor socour theyme ner folowe there wayes,

<sup>1</sup> Peter Courtney, Bishop of Exeter.

<sup>2</sup> John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Richard Woodville, brother to Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV.

<sup>4</sup> Adulterers.

privily departed oute of the contrey into Fraunce, and there takyng theym to be under the obeisaunce of the Kynggs auncient enemy, Charlys, callyng hymself Kyng of Fraunce, and to abuse and blynde the comons of this seid Realme, the seid rebelles and traitours have chosyn to be there capteyn one Henry Tydder, son of Edmond Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, whiche of his ambitious and insaciable covetise<sup>1</sup> encrocheth and usurpid upon hym the name and title of royall astate of this Realme of England, where unto he hath no maner interest, right, title, or colour, as every man wele knoweth; for he is discended of bastard blood both of ffather side and of mother side, for the seid Owen the graunfader was bastard borne,<sup>2</sup> and his moder was doughter unto John Duke of Somerset, son unto John, Erle of Somerset, sone unto Dame Kateryne Swynford, and therefore in double avoutry<sup>3</sup> gityn, whereby it evidently offerith that no title can nor may be in hym, which fully entendith to entre this Realme purposyng a conquest. And if he shulde atcheve his fals entent and purpose, every man is lif, livelod<sup>4</sup> and goddes<sup>5</sup> shulde be in his hands, liberte and disposicion, wherby sholde ensue the disheretyng and distruccion of all the noble and worshipfull blode of this Reame for ever, and to the resistence and withstandyng wheroft every true and naturall Englishman born must ley to his hands for his owen suerte<sup>6</sup> and wele. And to th'entent<sup>7</sup> that the seid Henry Tydder myght the rather atcheve his fals intent and purpose by the aide, supporte, and assistance of the Kynggs seid auncient enemy of Fraunce, hath covenanted and bargayned with hym and all the counsell of Fraunce to give up and relese inperpetuite all the right, title and cleyme that the Kynges of England have had, and

<sup>1</sup> Ambitious and insatiable covetousness.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that no doubt is cast on the legality of the birth of Edmund Tudor or the reality of the marriage between Owen Tudor and Catherine of France.

<sup>3</sup> Adultery.

<sup>4</sup> Livelihood.

<sup>5</sup> Goods.

<sup>6</sup> Surety.

ought to have, to the Crowne and Reame of Fraunce, together with the Duchies of Normandy, Anjoy, and Maygne, Gascogn and Guyne castelles and townys and Caleys, Guysnes, Hammes, with the marches apperteynyng to the same, and discevir<sup>1</sup> and exclude the armes of Fraunce oute of the armes of England for ever.

And in more prove and shewing of his seid purpose of conquest, the seid Henry Tydder hath goven as well to dyvers of the seid Kyngg's enimys as to his seid rebelles and traitours archebishoprikes, bisshoprikes, and other dignitees spirituels, and also the ducheez, erledomez, baronzes, and other posses- sions and inheritaunces of knyghts, squyres, gentilmen, and other the Kynggs true subjetts withynne the Reame, and entendith also to chaunge and subverte the lawes of the same, and to enduce and establisze newe lawes and ordenaunces amongez the Kynggs seid subjetts. And over this, and beside the alienacions of all the premyssez into possession of the Kynggs seid auncient enimys to the grettest anyntisshment,<sup>2</sup> shame, and rebuke that ever myght falle to this seid land, the seid Henry Tydder and others, the Kynggs rebelles and traitours aforesaid, have extended<sup>3</sup> at there comyng, if they may be of power, to do the most cruell murders, slaughterys, and roberyys, and disherisons that ever were seen in any Cristen reame.

For the wich, and other inestymable daungers to be eschewed, and to th'entent that the Kynggs seid rebelles, traitours and enimys may be utterly put from there seid malicious and fals purpose and sone discomfited, if they enforce to land, the Kyng our soveraign Lord willett, chargeth, and commaundith all and everyone of the naturall and true subjetts of this his Reame to call the premyssez to there mynds, and like gode and true Englishmen to endover themselfs with all there powers for the defence of them, there wifs, chylderyn, and

<sup>1</sup> Dissever.

<sup>2</sup> French *anéantissement*—annihilation, humiliation, ruin.

<sup>3</sup> Intended.

godes, and hereditaments ayent the seid malicious purposes and conspiracious which the seid auncient enemes have made with the Kynggs seid rebelles and traitours for the fynall distrucciion of this lande as is aforesaid. And our said soveraign Lord, as a wele willed, diligent, and coragious Prynce, wel put his moost roiall persone to all labour and Payne necessary in this behalve for the resistance and subduyng of his seid enemys, rebels, and traitours to the moost conforte, wele, and suerte of all his true and feithfull liege men and subjetts.

And over this, our seid soveraign Lord willith and comaundith all his seid subjetts to be redy in there most defensible arraye to do his Highnes servyce of werre, when thy be opyn proclamation, or otherwise shall be commaunded so to do, for the resistance of the Kynggs seid rebelles, traitours and enemyes. Et hoc sub periculo, &c.—T. me ipso apud Westmonesterium. xxiii die Junii. Anno regni nostri secundo.

### § 13. *Henry Tudor in Wales*

*Polydore Vergil.*

THAN Henry, thinkinge yt nedefull to make haste, that his frinds showld not be any longer kept in perplexytie betwene hope and drede, uncertain what to do, after he had made his prayers to God that he might have an happy and prosperous journey, he lowsed from the mouth of Seyne with two thousand onely of armyd men and a few shippes, the calends of August,<sup>1</sup> and with a soft suthern wynde. The weather being very fayre he came unto Wales the 7th day after, a lyttle before soone set, wher, entring thaven caulyd Milford, and furthwith going a land, he took first a place the

<sup>1</sup> 1st August. See article by Mr. T. Williams, who quotes from Rutland MSS., ‘rebelles and traitours accompanied with our auncient enemes of Fraunce and othre straunge nacions (who) departed out of the water of Sayn the first day of this present moneth (and who) making their cours Westwardes, ben landed at Nangle, besides Mylford Haven in Wales, on soneday last passed’, i. e. 7th August (*Y Cymmorodor*, vol. xxix).

name wherof ys Dalley,<sup>1</sup> wher he herd that certane companyes of his adversaryes had had ther stations the wynter by past to have kept him from landing.<sup>2</sup> Fróm thence departing in the breake of day he went to Haverforde,<sup>3</sup> which ys a toune not x myles from Dalley, wher he was receaved with great good will of all men, and the same he dyd with suche celerytie as that he was present and spoken of all at once. Heare he understandeth that Rychard Thomas<sup>3</sup> and John Savage, with all ther force and frindes, dyd help King Richerd to thuttermost of ther power, clene contrary to that he was certyfyed of in Normandy. But thinhabytants of Pembrough<sup>4</sup> at the same time comfortyd all ther dysmayyd myndes, for they gave intelligence, by Arnold Butler,<sup>5</sup> a valyant man, demanding forgeaveness of ther former offences, that they wer ready to serve Jaspar ther erle. Henry, his army thus augmentyd, departed from Hareford,<sup>6</sup> and goeth forward v myles toward Cardygan. The whyle the soldyers refreshyd themselves hear a rumor was suddaynly spred through the whole camp, thautor wheroft was uncertane, that Gwalter Herbert<sup>7</sup> and those who

<sup>1</sup> Dale, on the north side of Milford Haven. Other authorities, as wel as the Rutland MSS. quoted in the preceding note, state that Henry landed at Nangle, i. e. Angle, a bay opposite Dale, on the south side of the Haven. It is possible that a small division of his men landed there, but there is little doubt that the main body landed, as Vergil says, at Dale.

<sup>2</sup> Haverfordwest.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys ap Thomas is meant. Rhys and Savage appear to have delayed joining Henry at once, so as to mislead Richard III.

<sup>4</sup> Pembroke.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold Butler of Coedcantlais—a follower of Rhys ap Thomas—came from a branch of the Butlers of Dunraven, Glamorgan.—Fenton's *Pembroke-shire*. Coed Gantlais or Coedcenlas is a small parish on the north side of Milford Haven, near Lawrenny.

<sup>6</sup> Haverfordwest.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Walter Herbert, an illegitimate son of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke. He certainly supported Henry later in this campaign because he was one of those who received rewards at the beginning of Henry's reign. Campbell, *Materials for a History of Henry VII*, i. 443, 28th May 1486:

wer in camp at the toune of Carmardyne wer at hand with an huge army. Wherupon a stirre rose streightway, every man mayd ready his armor, assayd his weapon and began to advance the same, and all men wer in feare therwith a lyttle whyle, whan as thorsemen sent owt before hand to scurrey by erle Henry brought home woord that all thynges (as they wer in dede) wer quiet, and that ther was no hinderance to ther voyage immynent ; but one Gryfyne,<sup>1</sup> a man of highe parentage, did above the rest make them mery, who, though before he had joinghyd with Gwalter Herbert and Rycherd,<sup>2</sup> yeat almost at the very same instant revoltyd with his company of soldiers, few though they wer, to erle Henry. The very same day John Morgan<sup>3</sup> came to the sayd Henry. Thus Henry went forward without stay almost in any place, and that he might have more ready passage he set uppon dyvers fortresses furnyshyd with garryson of his adversaryes, and the same wan without any difficultie ; and whan as after these thinges he understoode by the scownts that Herbert and Rhys<sup>4</sup> wer before him in armes, he resolvyd to go agaynst them, and whan he had ether put them to flight or receavyd them into his obedience to make haste against King Richerd. But that he might advertise his frindes of his proceedinges, he sent unto Margaret his mother, to the Stanleys, to the lord Talbot,

' Grant, during pleasure, to Sir Walter Herbert, knt., of the office of Steward and Constable of the lordship of Cantreselly, and of Steward of the lordship of Talgarth, alias Dinas.'

<sup>1</sup> Richard Griffith (Hall).

<sup>2</sup> Rhys ap Thomas.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Morgan of Tredegar, son of Evan Morgan, who shared Henry's exile, and a sort of cousin to Trahaian Morgan of Kidwelly, and his brother John, the parson, staunch supporters of Henry Tudor. For rewards given by Henry VII to Sir John, see Campbell, i. 94, 24th October 1485 : ' Grant to Sir John Morgan, knt., of the offices of Sheriff of Wenlouk and Newport, and of Steward of Maghen, member of the same, and of Constable of the castle of Newport,' &c. Also i. 584, 7th November 1485 : ' Grant to Sir John Morgan of the office of Steward of the lordship of Grenefield, alias Ebothe, and of receiver of the same,' &c.

<sup>4</sup> Harbard and Rychard in the original.

and others, certane of his most faythfull servants with secrete messages, the effect wherof was that he, trusting to the ayde of his frynds, had determinyd to passe over Severn, and through Shropshire to go to London, and therfor desyryd them to mete him, with whom in place and time convenient he wold impart more of his intent. Thus having dispatchyd the messengers with this message, himself precedyd forward toward Shrewsbury, whom Richard Thomas<sup>1</sup> met by the way with a great bande of soldiers, and with assuryd promysse of loyaltie yealdyd himself to his protection. Two days before Henry had promysyd to Richerd Thomas the perpetuall lyvetenantship of Wales, so that he wold coome under his obedience, which afterward when he had obtanyd the kingdom he gave liberally.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rhys ap Thomas. The ballad 'Rose of England' has the following verse about Rhys :

Then Sir Rice ap Thomas drawes Wales with him :  
A worthy sight it was to see  
How the Welchmen rose wholly with him,  
And shogged him to Shrewsbury.

While the ballad of 'The Lady Bessy' says :

Sir Rhys ap Thomas a knight of Wales certain,  
Eight thousand spears brought he.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys ap Thomas received, 3rd November 1485, grant for life of the offices of Constable, Lieutenant, and Steward of the lordship of Brecknock ; 6th November 1485, grant for life of the offices of Chamberlain of South Wales, in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and Steward of the lordship of Builth ; 27th February 1486, appointment for twenty years as commissioner of the King's mines of tin, lead, copper, gold, and silver in England and Wales (Cornwall and Devon excepted), together with Jaspar, Duke of Bedford, Lord William Stanley, Reginald Bray, knt., Hugh Conway, &c.

§ 14. *Preparations to resist Henry Tudor**Paston Letters, No. 884.*

**T**O my welbelovyd frend, John Paston, be thys byll delyveryd  
in hast.

Welbelovyd frend, I commaunde me to yow, letyng yow to  
undyrstond that the Kyngs enmysse be a land, and that the  
Kyng wold hafe set for the asuppon Monday<sup>1</sup> but only for  
Houre Lady Day;<sup>2</sup> but for serten he gothe forward as uppon  
Tewsday, for a servant of myne browt to me the sertente.

Wherfor, I pray yow that ye met with me at Bery,<sup>3</sup> for, be  
the grace of God, I purpose to lye at Bery as uppon Tewsday  
nyght, and that ye brynge with yow seche company of tall  
men as ye may goodly make at my cost and charge, be seyd<sup>4</sup>  
that ye have promysyd the Kyng; and I pray yow ordeyne  
them jakets of my levery, and I shall contente yow at your  
metyng with me.

Yower lover

J. NORFFOLK.<sup>5</sup>§ 15. *The Battle of Bosworth Field, 1485**Polydore Vergil (abridged).*

**T**HE next day after King Richard . . . drew his whole hoste  
out of ther tentes, and arraith his vanward, stretching  
yt furth of a woonderfull lenght, so full replenyshyd both  
with foote men and horsemen that to the beholders afar of  
yt gave a terror for the multitude, and in the front wer placed  
his archers whose leder was John duke of Norfolk. After this  
vanward folowyd the King himself with a choyce force of

<sup>1</sup> The King would have set forth as upon (i. e. last) Monday.

<sup>2</sup> The Assumption of the Virgin Mary, 15th August.

<sup>3</sup> Bury St. Edmunds.

<sup>4</sup> Beside.

<sup>5</sup> John Howard, created Duke of Norfolk in 1483, when Richard ascended  
the throne; killed at Bosworth.

soldiers. In the meane time Henry well eārly in the morning commandyd the soldiers to arm~~at~~themselves, sending withall to Thomas Stanley, who was now approchyd the place of fight, that he wold com to with his forces to sett the soldiers to array. He aunsweryd that the earle showld set his oun folkes in order, whyle that he should coome to him with his army well apoyntyd, with which aunswere thowghe Henry wer no lyttle vexyd, yeat withoutt lingering he of necessytie orderyd his men in this sort. He made a sclender vanward for the smaule number of his people; before the same he placyd archers, of whom he made captane John Erle of Oxford; in the right wing of the vanward he placyd Gilbert Talbot; in the left he sat John Savage; and himself, trusting to the ayde of Thomas Stanley, with one troup of horsemen and a fewe footemen dyd folow; for the number of all his soldiers was scarce v. m. besydes the Stanleyans wherof about 3 m. wer at the battaill under the conduct of William. The King's forces were twyse so many and more. Thus both the vanwardes being arrayed as soone as the soldiers might one se an other afur of, they put on ther head peces and preparyd to the fyght, expectyng the alarme with intentyve care. Ther was a marishe betwixt both hostes, which Henry of purpose left on the right hand, that yt might serve his men instede of a fortresse, by the doing therof also he left the soon upon his bak, but when the King saw thenemyes passyd the marishe, he commandyd his soldiers to geave charge uppon them. They making suddanely great showtes assaultyd thennemy first with arrowes, who wer nothing faynt unto the fyght but began also to shoothe fearcely; but whan they cam to hand strokes the matter than was delt with blades. In the meane tyme therle of Oxfoord, fearing lest hys men in fyghting might be enyronyd of the multitude, commandyd in every rang<sup>1</sup> that no soldiers should go above tenfoote from the standerds; which charge being knownen whan all men had

<sup>1</sup> Rank.

throng thik togethers, and stayd a whyle from fighting, thadversaryes wer therwith aferd, supposing soom fraude, and so they all forbore the fight a certane space, and that veryly dyd many with right goodwill, who rather covetyd the king dead than alyve, and therfor fought fayntly. Then therle of Oxforth in one part, and others in an other part, with the bandes of men closse one to an other, gave freshe charge upon thenemy, and in arrey tryangle vehemently renewyd the conflict. Whyle the battayl contynewd thus hote on both sydes betwixt the vanwardes, King Richard understood ... when Erle Henry was afarre of with a smaule force of soldiers about him : all inflamyd with ire, he strick his horse with the spurres, and runneth out of thone side without the vanwardes agaynst him. Henry perceavyd King Richerd coome upon him, and because all his hope was than in valyancy of armes, he receavys him with great corage. King Richerd at the first brunt killyd certane, overthrew Henryes stander together with William Brandon the stander bearer, and matchyd also with John Cheney, a man of muche fortytude, far exceeding the common sort, who encountered with him as he cam, but the King with a great force drove him to the ground, making way with weapon on every syde. But yeat Henry abode the brunt longer than ever his ounе soldiers wold have wenyd, who wer now almost owt of hope of victory. Whan as loe William Stanley with thre thowsand men came to the reskew, than trewly in a very moment the resydew all fled, and King Richerd alone was killyd fyghting manfully in the thickkest presse of his enemyes. In the meantime also the erle of Oxfoord after a little bickering put to flyght them that fowght in the forward, wherofer great company wer killed in the chase. Ther wer killyd about a m. men, and amongst them of noblemen of warre John, duke of Norfolk, Rycherd Ratclyff and many moe. As for the number of captives yt was very great. Henry lost in that battleyll scarce an hundredth soldiers.

Henry, after the victory obtaynyd, gave furthwith thanks unto Almichtie God for the same; than after, replenysshed with joy incredible, he got himself unto the next hill, wher, after he had commendyd his soldiers, and commandyd to cure the woundyd, and to bury them that were slayne, he gave unto the noblytie and gentlemen immortal thankes, promysing that he wold be myndfull of ther benyfyttes, all which meane whyle the soldiers cryed, God save King Henry, God save King Henry! and with hart and hand utteryd all the shew of joy that might be; which whan Thomas Stanley did see he set anon King Richerd's croune, which was found among the spoyle in the feilde, upon his head, as though he had bene already by commandment of the people proclaimyd King after the manner of his ancestors, and that was the first signe of prosperytie.

## XXIII

FROM BOSWORTH FIELD TO THE  
ACT OF UNION, 1535§ I. *How Henry rewarded his Friends*Campbell, *Materials for the History of Henry VII.*

1485. 21 September.

**G**RANT, for life, to William Anneon (Eynon) 'in consideration of the true and diligent service doone unto us at our roial triumph and victory', of the office of keeper of the ferry and passage of Portathye, Co. Carnarvon, North Wales. (i. 22.)

23 Sept. Grant, for life, to Ithell Wynn, of Moldeshall, in consideration of good and faithful services 'doone in our last victorious journey agenst our mortall enemyes and rebelles', of the office of steward of Cayrus in Flintshire. (i. 42).

24 Sept. Grant, for life, to Owen ap Griffith, yeoman of the King's guard, of the offices of steward and haward of the lordship of Laugharne, Co. Carmarthen, in South Wales, and of constable of the castle there. (i. 46.)

9 Oct. Grant, for life, to John Morgan, of the office of clerk of the Parliaments of the king and his heirs to be holden within the realm of England, with a fee of £40 per annum out of the issues, &c., of the hanaper of the Court of Chancery. (i. 79.)

18 Oct. Grant to John Morgan of the deanery of the free chapel or collegiate church of the Virgin Mary, St. George the Martyr, and St. Edward the Confessor, in Windsor Castle, vice John Davyson, deceased. (i. 91-2.)

The attainer of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, by the name of Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, Sir Edmund Mountford, Sir Edmund Hampden, Thomas Fitzhenrie, late of Hereford, Richard Stukely, late of Lambeth, John Pennicok, late of Weybridge in Co. Surrey, Philip Maunsell, late of Oxenwiche, in Gowersland in South Wales, and Hopkin ap Rys, late of Laganlough<sup>1</sup> in Gower, were reversed, and their possessions restored to them. (i. 116.)

1486. 16 Feb. Grant of denization to Richard ap Llewelin ap Hulkyn alias Res ap Llewelin ap Hulkyn (in consideration of true service done to the king, as well in his last victorious field as otherwise) extending to him all the privileges of an Englishman, with enfranchisement from the penal enactments made against the Welsh in the second year of Henry IV. (i. 295.)

15 June. Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce and Lord of Ireland. To the reverend fadre in God, John, bisshope of Ely, oure chauncellere, greting. We late you to wite that in recompense of the good and true service doone unto us of tyme passed by our right welbeloved subgiettes and servauntes Philip ap Howell and Jane, his wife,

<sup>1</sup> Llangyfelach?

somtyme our norice, and herafstre to be doðne, we have geven and graunted unto them an annuytie or annuell rent of twenty poundes, to be had and perceyld yerely for terme of theire lyves, and of eithre of theyme longer lyving, by the handes of the chambrelain of our exchequer of Carmerdyn for the tyme beeing, at the festes of Michelmas and Estre, by even porcions. Wherfore we wol and charge you that undre our grete sell ye do make herupon our lettres patentes in due and sufficient fourme. Yeven undre our pryve sell, at our palaice of Westminster, the xiiith day of June, the furst yere of our regne. (i. 457-8.)

## § 2. *The Government of Wales*

### *The Court of the Council of the Marches*

Though proud of their Welsh descent, the Tudor sovereigns showed no sentimental leniency towards Welsh disorder. Henry VII was so much occupied in maintaining his tottering throne and restoring order in England that he did not do much in Wales, but unruly Marcher Lords found themselves brought before the Star Chamber. Henry also made permanent the Court of the Council of the Marches of Wales which had first been set up by Edward IV after the battle of Tewkesbury.

### *Powers of the Court of the Council*

William Gerard, *Discourse on the State of Wales,*  
*State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cii.

They had instructions geven them which was in effect to execute Justice upon all felons and prayers of Cattell in thenglishe adjoyning counties, upon all felonies there or in any parte of Wales comitted; to suppresse and ponishe by fyne and ymprisonment Rowtes, Riottes, unlawfull assemblies, assaultes, affraies, extorc'ons, and exac'cons; and to heare the complaintes as well of all poor welshe personnes oppressed or wronged in any cause as to those inhabitinge in thenglishe counties adjoyninge. They had auctoritie by Comission of Oyer and terminer and speciall gaole deliverie throughowte Wales and in those Englishe counties adjoyninge.

### § 3. *The Work of Rowland Lee*

For several years Wales was neglected. Disorder grew and even a rebellion broke out. The worst districts were the old Marcher Lordships, of which there were considerably over a hundred. Each was still independent of the shire organization and had its own court and system of justice or injustice. Felons in one lordship or in the English border counties could escape punishment by fleeing over the border into some other lord's dominion. Feuds and private wars still occurred between rival lordlings, and the poor peasants on both sides of the border suffered.

Thomas Cromwell, on his own initiative or acting at the command of the king, decided that this lack of government must cease, and in 1534, Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield, was made President of the Council. Lee was a man of tireless energy and commanding personality. He often acted in a most highhanded way, but there is no doubt that he did much for Wales. He rode down into the wildest and most unruly districts, routed out thieves and murderers, alive or dead, and had them hanged,<sup>1</sup> and he could boast that he had 'hanged four of the best blood in Shropshire'.

#### *The Methods of Lee and his Assistants*

William Gerard, *Discourse on the State of Wales.*

They spent their holle tyme in travellinge yeerlie eythr throughe Wales or a great parte of the same in causes towchinge Civill Government, and by that travell knewe the people and founde theire disposicion, favored and preferred to auctoritie and office in theire countreys suche, howe meane of lyvinge soever they were, as they founde diligentie and willinge to serve in discoveringe and tryinge owte of offences and offenders. Theye likewise deforced and discountenanced others, of howe greate callings and possessions soever they were, beinge of contrarie disposition. This stoute bushoppes dealinge and terror that the vertue of learninge workethe in the subjects when he perceiveth that he is governed under a lerned magistrate within iii or iiij yeres generallie so terrified theyme, as the verie feare of punishment rather than the desire or love

<sup>1</sup> If he found the felon already dead he had his body brought in a sack and hanged.

that the people hadde to chaunge their walshrie wroughte first in theym the obedience theye nowe bee grown into. Then was this Counsell and theire proceedinges as moche feared, reverenced, and hadd in estimacion of the walshrie as at this daye<sup>1</sup> the Starre Chamber of the English.

#### § 4. *Documents illustrating the Work of the Council of Wales and the Marches*

Page 49.

Flenley, *The Council of Wales* (Cymrodorion Society's publication).

**W**HEREAS the Isle of Anglesey within our Principality of North Wales lies open both to France and Scotland, we have thought good, considering the late attempt of our ancient enemies the Frenchmen and also the Scots, who are nothing ignorant of the landing-places there, to foresee that there be supply of men ready at all times for the better meeting of such attempts as haply shall be offered against the said Isle. We have therefore ordered that with the inhabitants of that our country the force of Carnarvon shall be ready to aid the said Isle when and where occasion arises on any attempt in any haven, creek, or place therein. And as we have sent letters to the Justices of Peace and Sheriffs of those counties to muster the inhabitants in all quarters adjoining the sea coast, so our pleasure is that you, in whom we have special trust, shall muster the inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey, willing and requiring you forthwith upon receipt of this to assemble yourselves and out of hand to muster and make ready all the able men in the said Isle, with furniture of armour meet for the wars, and to see that every man be ready upon all occasions to repair to the landing-place, when and wheresoever commanded, to repulse the enemy's sudden appearance and enterprise there. We doubt not but you will appoint such men to lead and rule as are able, as also have

<sup>1</sup> Gerard, who was appointed Vice-president of the Court of the Marches in 1562, was writing in 1575.

care to the watch of the beacons as opportunity shall serve, conferring in this matter with the commissioners of the other shires, so that you and they may better win in this service, seeing in any wise that the inhabitants there rest at home for the defence of the Isle.

Page 51. It is ordered by the Lord President and Council that where John Throckmorton, Esq., of the Council by the instructions is licensed to depart from the service of this house to keep his circuit twice a year, repairing again to his charge here, he shall have at his departure and repair again, twice a year, allowance for himself and 12 servants and 14 horses ; viz. for every day's travel from this Council where he goes, and from the place where he comes to the place where this Council shall be, for himself 6*s.* 8*d.* a day, for every servant 12*d.* a day, for every horse 12*d.*, and for the sending for and return of every servant and every horse 12*d.* And for every circuit kept by him in the 3 shires of Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery £7, as he heretofore has been allowed and paid.

Page 80. Order for the Porter's Lodge according to the Queen's Majesty's instructions.

1. That every person committed to the charge of the porter shall be detained there as a prisoner according to the quality of the offence, not to depart out of the circuit of the porter's lodge without the special licence of the Council, the porter to receive from them fees hereinafter laid down.

2. For treason, murder, and felony to be detained in irons during the Council's pleasure, and not to depart out of the circuit of the porter's lodge.

3. All persons committed for contempt or any misdemeanour where the Queen is to have a fine are likewise to be detained without sufferance to go abroad save by the special licence of the Council ; all these persons are to wear irons unless they fine for the same such sums as follow.

4. The porter is to take as the ordinary fee of every person

committed for a single contempt 2*s.* 6*d.*, and not above save for his diet.

5. Of every person of the degree of esquire or above, committed for any offence for which he is to wear irons, for his committal 2*s.* 6*d.*, and for the discharge of his irons, if he seek it, 2*s.* 6*d.*; and of every person committed and under the degree of esquire, 2*s.* 6*d.* for his fee, and 1*2d.* for discharge of his irons, if he sue for it, over and above his diet.

6. Further, the porter shall continually have in readiness for the entertainment of prisoners 2 tables for diet, kept in this sort :—The best and first table at 8*d.* the meal, the second at 6*d.* the meal, so furnished with meat and drink that the parties may according to their payment have therein competently and conveniently. And the party committed to choose at the time of his committal at which of those tables he will remain; and if he fail to make payment of his fees of committal and for his diet at the end of every week, the porter to take bonds for their due payment.

Page 94. Whereas the Council is informed that there is great labour and suit in Merionethshire concerning the next election of knights of the shire for parliament, and danger that by outward signs and tokens of brag a proper election will be prevented. The Council had thought wise to commission certain people to be present and take note of every one who should infringe the laws against rioting and carrying of arms in assemblies, and thereupon to report to the Council. But on consideration of the authority and charge of the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace, the not doing of their duties not being had in suspicion before some trial thereof, it is decided to trust to them. Therefore, letters are to be sent out rehearsing this and commanding the Sheriff to make proclamation at the time of the election against any breach of the peace, and especially against the carrying of weapons, on pain of the penalties provided by statute. If any disturbance should arise

the Sheriff and Justices are to use correction therein as the law has appointed, and after being thus warned they will be held responsible for any disorder.

Page 105. To the Right Honourable the Lord President and others, &c.

In their most humble manner complaining show unto your good lordships your orators Edward Herbert and James Price, Esqs., for themselves and most of the freeholders of the counties of Montgomery and Radnor :

Whereas most of the land in these two counties consists of mountains, hills, and other waste ground, on which the free-holders have had, as far back as can be remembered, Common of Pasture all the year round, so breeding yearly great number of horses, mares, and geldings, as well for the maintenance of the strength of the Realm as for the upkeep of tillage ; also no small number of oxen, kine, sheep, and other cattle for food. Yet divers persons within these counties, preferring their private lucre before the welfare of their country, have within the last twenty years or so acquired cottages and other small freeholds, and do in the summer put on the mountains and hills not only their own cattle (which they keep elsewhere than upon their lands in these counties in winter) but also cattle hired from other men, making such number of cattle as the hill pasture will scarce suffice to feed for half the summer. As a result the commons are left so barren that your orators' cattle die yearly in the winter, to the great hindrance of the common wealth, not only of the inhabitants of these counties but also of those near adjoining. Wherefore, as Common of Pasture is of common right due for no more or other cattle than for those and such cattle as every man upon his freehold within the said counties shall be able to maintain in the winter season ; also, before these counties were subjected to the laws of this Realm these and other enormities were presented in the Leet Court of the manors and lordships, and the offenders

condignly punished to the great wealth of the inhabitants of these counties; also, since these counties were made subject to the laws of the Realm these same offences have not been thought inquirable and the offenders are grown so powerful that only your lordships' interference can check the evil; also, by the driving to and fro of so many cattle many householders are utterly impoverished by the carrying off of their beasts, and many great and outrageous felonies are shadowed, coloured, and cloaked.

May it therefore please your lordships to grant that the Queen's and your letters may be sent to the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in these counties, ordering them to make public proclamation concerning the petition and requiring every inhabitant who feels himself aggrieved to appear before your lordships on or before 1st March, and stating that, if no sufficient cause to the contrary is shown, your lordships will proceed to take measures on the petition.

Page 157. The Vice-president and Council now making their abode at Ludlow Castle for the administration of Justice understand that to-morrow, the 25th inst., a great fair is to be kept within the town, whereto many of Her Majesty's subjects will resort for good intent to use traffic and to buy and sell. Even so in respect to the fair and to this Council many evil disposed persons will come to pick and steal and to use some shifts and disordered trade, or to fight and quarrel rather than for any good intent; for preventing whereof the Vice-president and Council have called the Bailiffs of the town before them and warned them to look well to their charge. And although the Council think that they will not be forgetful of their duties for due execution of the laws against offenders, yet for more security thereof it is ordered that a letter rehearsing the premises be sent to them, letting them know that the Council think they shall do good service to Her Majesty this night, in secret order, upon conference amongst their brethren

the Aldermen and Council, to enter into suspect houses for the apprehension of offenders, causing a substantial watch to be kept. Such as shall be found offenders against the laws they shall punish or else send them to the Council with certificate of their offence. And whereas many persons disposed to fighting and brawling will come to the fair bearing upon them gleves, spears, javelins, or pikestaves so long as to be monstrous to behold, it is very meet that the Bailiffs should make proclamation that no man shall bear any armour or weapons in affray of the people; and if they find any such weapon above 6 feet long they shall use their discretion to reduce it to a reasonable length, sending any obstinate persons to this Council. They are also to certify their doings from time to time.

Page 174. Articles set down to be observed within divers parts of the county of Montgomery as hereafter ensueth :

1. All persons suspect of any kind of felony are to be bound over in £10 with sufficient sureties upon eight days' warning.
2. In every parish mentioned Overseers of the most honest and substantial men shall be appointed, with authority to do as follows.
3. None of the inhabitants of those parishes shall acquire any cattle until they be shown to the Overseer and the number, colour, and marks registered.
4. No such cattle shall be delivered back until they are viewed and the names of the receivers known by the Overseers.
5. Suspected persons shall mark cattle only twice in the year, viz. May and Michaelmas, or a week before or after, the Overseers, or at least two of them, being present.
6. No suspected person shall kill any cattle save after giving notice to the Overseer, and in the presence of at least two of them.
7. No suspected person shall sell any cattle until the Overseer has seen them and knows in what market they are to be sold.
8. Henceforth no man but the lord of the soil shall crop both ears of his cattle.

### § 5. Authority and Jurisdiction of the Council

George Owen, *A Dialogue of the Government of Wales* (Part III of Owen's *Pembrokeſhire*).

THIS Counſale, although it beare the name of Counſell, is not ſomuch occupied in matters of Counſell, as it is in hearing and determining of matters of right. For it is now uſed and growen to be an ordinary Court of Justice for every man to ſue in; and is much like in authority to the Court called the Chauncery in Westminſter, which is a Court of equity to mitigate the vigour of Law in divers cauſes. The authority and jurisdiction of this Counſell is not certaintely knowne; for they are to iudg and determine of ſuch matters as the Q. of Engl. ſhall authoriſe them from time to time by-way of Instructions. . . .

But moſt commonly they deale for all manner of miſde-meanors, as assaults and affraies, riottes, rowtes,<sup>1</sup> forcible entries, briberies, extorcions, Comorthaes,<sup>2</sup> exactions, and all manner of outrages and miſdemeanours committed within their commission. . . . They also deale in mitigating . . . of all extremitieſ and rigouroſnes of the Common Law of this land. . . . It also determineth deteyning of evidences wher ther is no remedy at the Common Law. It examineth the title of Lands depending upon the ſame: . . . it forceth evill dealing Tutors<sup>3</sup> to yeald accoſpt to fatherles Infanteſ of their goodeſ and debt. . . . And generallie it is the very place of refuge for the poor oppreſſed of this Country of Wales to flie unto. . . .

This court is it which at the beginning brought Wales to that civilitie and quietneſ that you now ſee it, from that wilde and outragious ſtate that you ſhall reade of. And althoſome thinkē it an unneceſſary Court at this preſent,

<sup>1</sup> Disorderly crowds.

<sup>2</sup> Comorthaes, or cymborthaes, were gatherings of neighbours oſtentibly to help each other in ſome farm-work, moving, &c., but actually to plot againſt the Government. See p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Guardians.

considering the obedience that Wales is now brought unto, and fitter to be dissolved then continued, doubtless they are farr mistaken therin . . . ffor let that house or Counsell be dissolved but for a few yeares, and no place erected to seeke redresse in divers of those things ; those that live now most quietlie and thinke that Court unnecessary should first feele the smarte and want therof.

### § 6. *The Act of Union, 1535*

It soon became obvious to the English Government that Wales was likely to relapse into its state of disorder if or when Bishop Lee should resign his office. The need of something more permanent led to the Act of Union of 1535 and the establishment of the Great Sessions of Wales, which though carried out in his time were contrary to his wish.

*Extracts from the Statute generally called the Act of Union*

Ivor Bowen, *Statutes of Wales* (slightly abridged).

**A**LBEIT the Dominion, Principality, and Country of Wales justly and righteously is, and ever hath been incorporated, annexed, united, and subject to the and under the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as a very member and joint of the same, wherof the King's most Royal Majesty . . . is very Head, King, Lord, and Ruler ; yet notwithstanding, because that in the same Country, Principality, and Dominion divers Rights, Usages, Laws, and Customs be far discrepant from the Laws and Customs of this Realm, and also because that the People of the same Dominion have and do daily use a speech nothing like, nor consonant to the natural Mother Tongue used within this Realm, some rude and ignorant People have made Distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of this Realm and his Subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord, Variance, Debate, Division, Murmur, and Sedition hath grown between his said Subjects : His Highness therefore, of a singular Zeal, Love, and Favour that he beareth towards his Subjects of his said Dominion of

Wales . . . intending to reduce them to the perfect Order . . . and Knowledge of his Laws of this Realm, and utterly to extirp all and singular the sinister Usages and customs differing from the same, . . . hath by the . . . Advice, Consent, and Agreement of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the present Parliament assembled, . . . ordained, and enacted :

1. That this said Country or Dominion of Wales shall be . . . for ever from henceforth incorporated, united, and annexed to and with this his Realm of England ; and that all . . . Persons, born or to be born in the said Principality . . . of Wales shall have and enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges, and Laws . . . as other the King's Subjects . . . have, enjoy, or inherit.

2. And that all Persons inheritable to any Manors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments within the Country of Wales or any Lordship or Part of Wales shall for ever from and after the feast of All Saints inherit and be inheritable after the English tenure, not after the form of any Welsh Laws or Customs.

3. And forasmuch as there be many and divers Lordships Marchers within the said Country or Dominion of Wales, lying between the Shires of England and the Shires of Wales, and being no parcel of any other Shires where the Laws and due correction is used and had, by reason whereof have ensued and been perpetrated and committed within the said Lordships and countries of them adjoining, divers detestable Murthers, ruining of Houses, Robberies, Thefts, Trespasses, Routs, Riots, unlawful Assemblies, receiving of Felons, Oppressions, Ruptures of the Peace, and manifold other Malefacts contrary to all Laws and Justice ; and the said Offenders thereupon making their Refuge from Lordship to Lordship, were and continued without punishment or Correction ; for due Reformation thereof it is enacted that divers of the said Lordships Marchers shall be united, annexed, and joined to

divers of the Shires of England, and divers of the Shires of the Country of Wales ; and that all the Residue of the said Lordships shall be severed and divided into certain particular Counties or Shires. That is to say, the Counties or Shires of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh.

9. And forasmuch as the Shires of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh be far distant from the City of London where the Laws of England be commonly ministered or executed, and for that the Inhabitants of the said Shires be not of substance, Power, and Ability to travel out of their Countries to seek the Administration of Justice, it is therefore enacted : That the King shall have one Chancery and Exchequer at his Castle of Brecknock, and one other at his Castle of Denbigh.

10. And that Justice shall be administered and executed unto the King's Subjects in the said Countries according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm of England.

20. Also be it enacted : That all Justices, Sheriffs, Coroners, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Law, shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts, Hundred Leets, Sheriffs Courts, and all other Courts in the English Tongue ; and also that from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner, Office, or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King's dominion.

28. And it is further enacted : That for this present Parliament and all other Parliaments to be holden, two knights shall be chosen and elected to the same Parliament for the Shire of Monmouth, and one Burgess for the Borough of Monmouth, in like manner, Form, and Order as in other parts of this Realm of England.

29. And for this Parliament and all other Parliaments to be holden, One Knight shall be chosen for every of the Shires of the Dominion of Wales ; and for every Borough being a Shire-town within the said County, except the Shire-town of the foresaid County of Merioneth, one Burgess.

### § 7. *The Great Sessions of Wales*

Though Welshmen, after 1535, enjoyed the same ‘ Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, and Privileges and Laws ’ as Englishmen, they were not required to go to London to have their cases tried. Wales was divided into four circuits, with judges who came to each at regular intervals and administered a common justice to all, and there is no doubt that this uniform system of justice did a great deal to form a united Wales.

George Owen, *A Dialogue of the Government of Wales*.

**B**UTT to my purpose, to y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> King H. 8. prouyded for us and our good in the seven and twentith yeare of his reigne by acte of parliament he deuyded the whole cuntrey of Wales in to thirteen Shyres whearof on is called Monmoth-shyre he made english in all respect of lawes and subject to the Courts of Westminster, because the same was the nearest part of Wales to London and might w<sup>th</sup> least cost and labour travell thyther every term.

Butt for the rest of Walles being xii Sheeres he prouyded for every three of them, a Common place, a Kyngs bench, a Chauncerye, and an Excecquer and that at hom in every sheere.

ffor thear is in every sheere a great sessions or assisses houlden every yeare twyce, w<sup>ch</sup> endureth for six dayes each tyme, and for the keeping of the sayd sessions by the s<sup>d</sup> statute thear was appoyneted a justice of assise for every three sheeres w<sup>ch</sup> yearly rydeth those Circuits to minister justice to the Kynges subjects of those partes.

## THE CONDITION OF WALES AFTER 1535

§ I. *How Wales received the Innovations*

George Owen, *A Dialogue of the Government of Wales.*

**BARTHOLL.** I perceive by that you have said that Wales by the hard usage therof in ould time and by the evill Magistrates and intolerable Lawes, grew to be disobedient to Lawes and uncivill among themselves : ffor seeing the princes had no care of their good governm<sup>t</sup> but sent Judges and Officers to spoyle and oppresse them, and ordained Lawes not to governe with Civilitie, but to oppresse w<sup>th</sup> crueltie the people grew disobedient to those Lawes and undutifull to those Princes, and after long oppressions grew desperate of themselves, chusing rather to die in defence of their auntient lawes and liberties, then to live under such innaturall and unreasonable Lawes as were ordained for their governm<sup>t</sup> untill that H. 8. tooke care of the same, so yt Wales at this day is a Commonwealth newlie reformed, and not as yet setled in perfect estate ; . . . but I much marvaile how upon the first alteracion of the governm<sup>t</sup> of Wales (K. H. 8. utterlie abolished the Welsh Lawes and brought in the English Lawes) the countrie receaved the same quietlie and w<sup>th</sup>out great grudging and some rebellion : for new governm<sup>t</sup> and alteration of auntient Lawes is not easily receaved into any common wealth. And yet I heare not of you yt Wales repined at altering their Lawes or inducing a new governm<sup>t</sup>.

**Demetus.** So it is dangerous to alter any thing in a well governed Commonwealth, such as Wales then was not. But to such as live in bondage and slaverie, innovacions and alterations from Crueltie to justice are sweet and pleasant, and then we the poore Welshmen yt were cruellic oppressed by or

governors, I mean the Strangers that were Stewards, Justices, Sherifes, or others, who had Law to iudg as pleased them, and not to iustifie as we deserved, were very gladd of those new Lawes, and embraced the same with ioyfull hartes ; and this caused those Lawes to be receaved so quietlie, wheras in times past many a bloudie battaile was fought before they receaved the cruell English Lawes and Law givers wherw<sup>th</sup> they were oppressed.

*Bar.* Surely these Lawes have brought Wales to great Civilitie from yt evill governm<sup>t</sup> that was here in ould time : for it is as safe travailing for a stranger here in Wales as in any parte of Xptndome, whereas in old time it is said robberies and murthers were very comon.

## § 2. *A Description of Life in Wales in Tudor Times*

George Owen, *A Dialogue of the Government of Wales.*

FIRST as touching the trade of life, the poorest husbandman liveth upon his owne travaile, having corne, butter, cheese, beefe, mutton, Pultrie, and the like of his owne sufficient to maintaine his house. He maketh the apparell of him and his familie of his owne woll, and seldom useth any money, but those that want such necessaries are driven to buy altogether in a manner at daies ;<sup>1</sup> for seldom buyeth any of the poorer sort anything for ready money. Corne, butter, cheese, woll, and such like the poore man buyeth of his ritcher neighbour at daies, and comonly their payments are from May to midd-November, for all that whiles is the countrie of Wales full of faires ; then are their Cattell, sheep, Lambes, Swyne, Woll, and other matters in prise,<sup>2</sup> so that he that hath any of these to sell all the summer shalbe sure of money. But from November till Maie they have nothing wherw<sup>th</sup> to make money. . . . Likewise for their Iron, Sallt, oyle, lyncloth, Pitch, Tarr,

<sup>1</sup> At daies means on credit till his harvest, cattle, &c., shall be ready.

<sup>2</sup> Of value.

Spice, and such like things that are to be had out of touns, the tounesman selleth the same at daies also : and of all these things y<sup>t</sup> he buyeth he seldom or neuer buyeth the valew of 40s. of any one man. . . .

And also you perceave how most of the countrie is Champion<sup>1</sup> and without enclosures, so that they till in the open fields in many and severall<sup>2</sup> peeces and keepe their cattell in Summer by Heardes amongst the peeces and fieldes of corne, and therefore one neighbor shall trespass another much, and therupon all the Summer time riseth many actions of Trespas which are entered and sued in those base Courtes<sup>3</sup> and surely in some pointes those base Courts are not unnecessary: for I know some, that if it were not for feare of those Actions of Trespas, would utterlie spoile their neighbours, by eating up their Corne and Meadow, w<sup>ch</sup> they more carefullie forbear fearing to be sued.

<sup>1</sup> Champion was the name given to the great open field shared in common by the villagers.

<sup>2</sup> 'Several' may mean separate or enclosed land as opposed to Champion, or, as here, perhaps separate strips in the open fields.

<sup>3</sup> The Hundred Courts.

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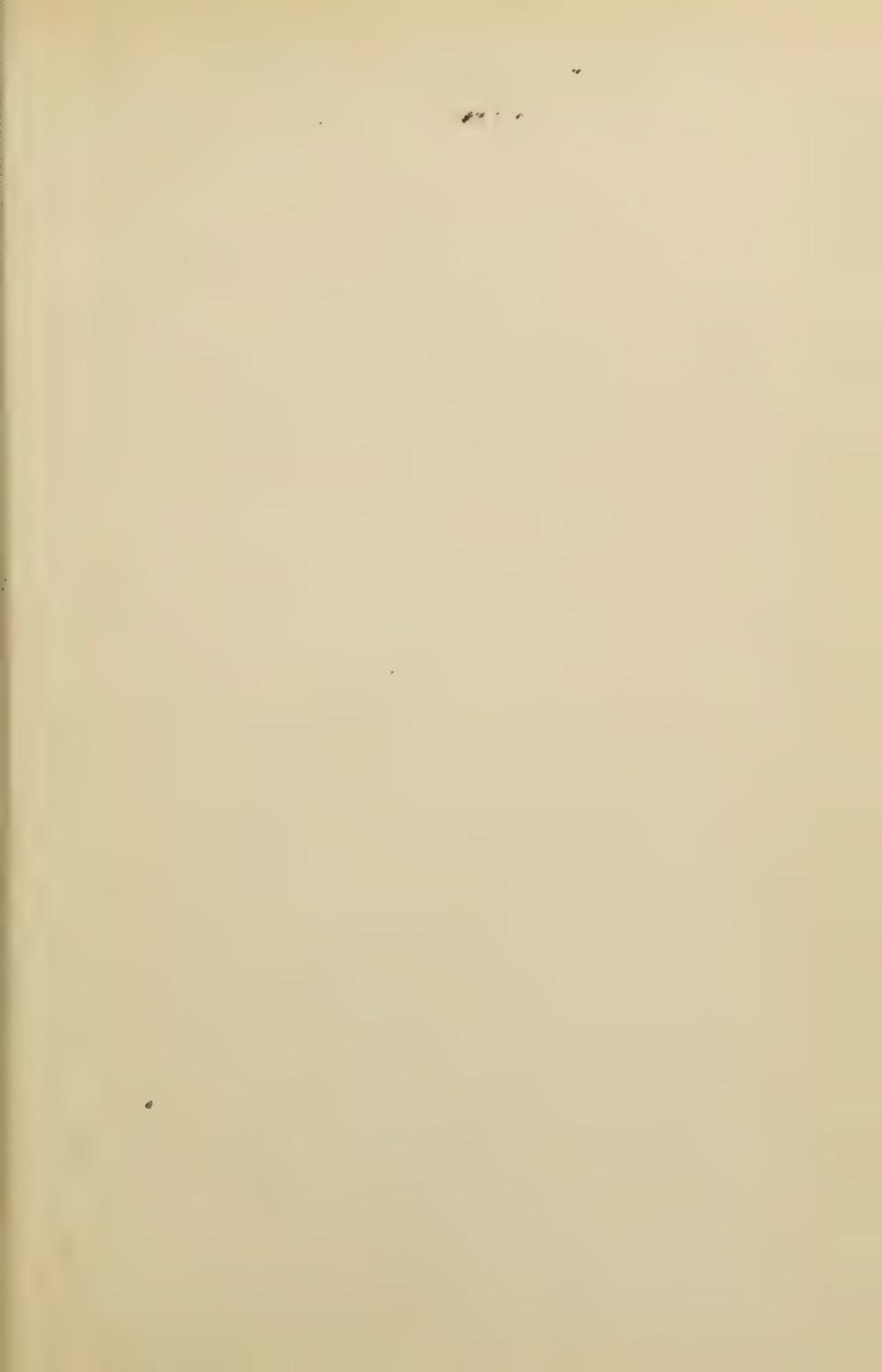
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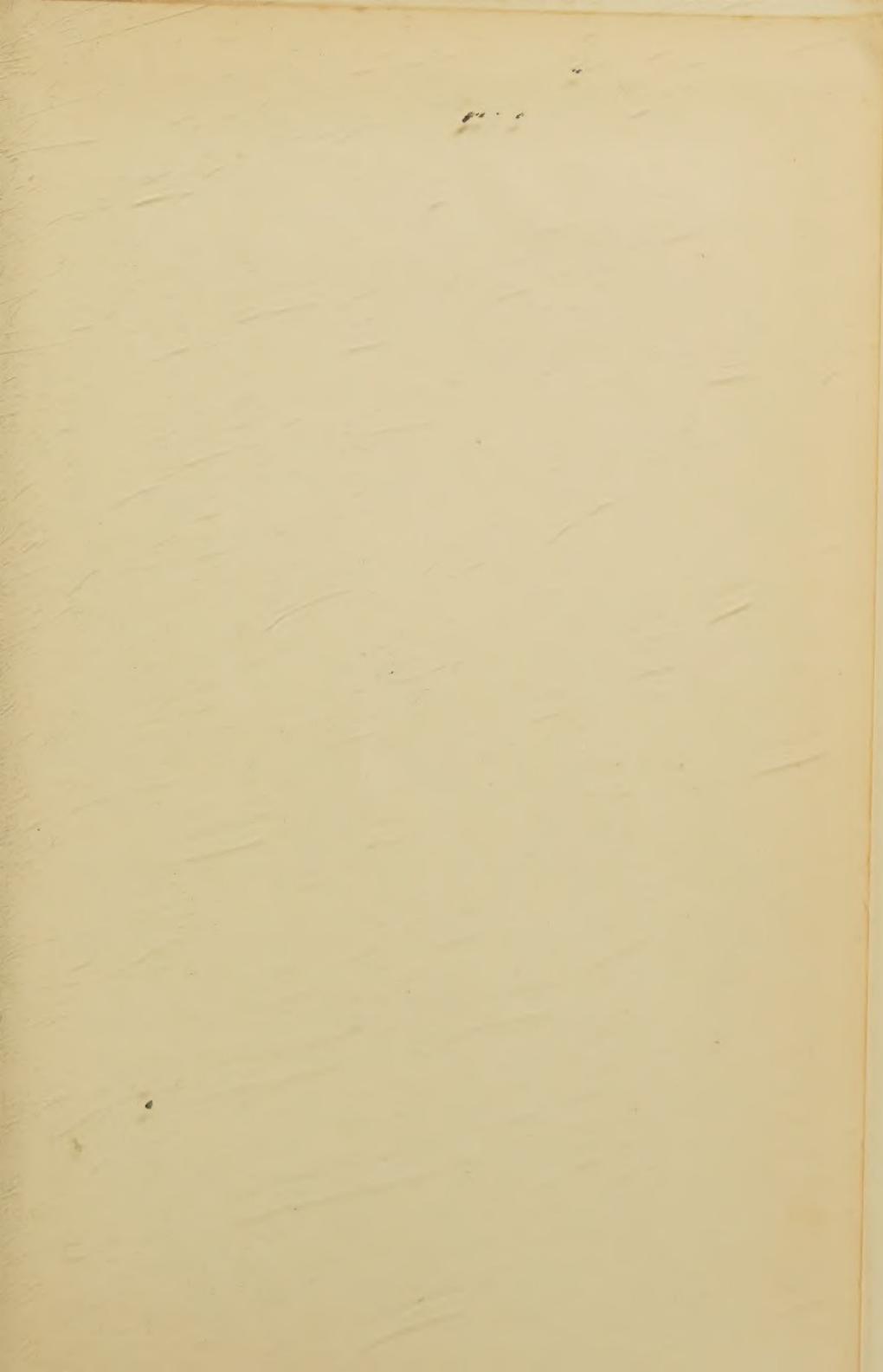
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